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# The Impact of The War on Rural Community Life

## State and Local Viewpoint

By Robert A. Polson\*

### ABSTRACT

The impact of the war on rural community life in the northeastern states seems most pronounced in those phases of living sensitive to restrictions on transportation. The limited use of the automobile has upset many of the established patterns of association. The usual forms of recreation are not as available to farm residents as they once were and organization participation has been adjusted to fewer meetings. Juvenile delinquency has increased particularly in those localities where young people no longer have access to commercial recreation. The rapid exodus of individuals in the productive ages of the population has created a shortage of labor and a curtailment of community services. The portion of the population in the dependent ages has materially increased. Rural organization adjustments to a war economy and the necessity of promoting war programs has placed a heavy load on local leaders. Out of this situation has come an increased interest in neighborhood activity and organization devices for community coordination of war work.

### RESUMEN

Los efectos de la guerra sobre la vida de la sociedad rural en los estados del Noreste parecen haber sido más marcados en aquellas actividades que han sido afectadas por las restricciones en la transportación. El uso limitado de automóviles ha alterado los medios corrientes de contacto social. Las formas corrientes de diversión no están tan fácilmente al alcance de la población rural como en épocas normales y la participación en organizaciones sociales se limita a un menor número de reuniones. La delincuencia juvenil ha aumentado especialmente en las localidades donde la juventud no tiene acceso a las diversiones comerciales. El éxodo de personas en las edades productivas de la población ha ocasionado la escasez de trabajadores y, por consiguiente, la reducción en los servicios a la comunidad. La parte de la población que es dependiente por razón de edad ha aumentado considerablemente. Los ajustes necesarios en la organización rural hacia la economía de la guerra y la necesidad de fomentar programas de guerra ha requerido un mayor esfuerzo de parte de los líderes locales. Esta situación ha estimulado el interés en las actividades del vecindario y en los sistemas de organización para coordinar el esfuerzo de guerra en la comunidad.

The prosecution of a modern war demands adjustments from all groups in our society. Rural communities are having to make especially significant changes in their established pattern of living. The curtailed use of the automobile, necessitated by the war, has suddenly plunged these communities into certain conditions resembling those of the horse and

buggy era, and rural people are no longer organized to function effectively under such circumstances. The situation is further aggravated by migration which decreases the proportion of the population in the productive ages and increases it in the dependent ages. An examination of some of these problems faced by rural people and the adjustments they are making to them will in-

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dicate the profoundness of the impact of the war on rural community life.

### **The Impact of Transportation Restrictions upon Community Life**

Farm people have fewer contacts with their community centers since tires and gasoline have been rationed and there is less attendance at organization meetings and social affairs in the village. Some increase has occurred in neighborhood participation, but there has been quite a sharp decrease in the number of face-to-face contacts outside of the community. There has been a modest reappearance of neighborhood life. Home parties and meetings are being substituted to a limited degree for community-wide recreation and organization meetings. The Extension Service Minute Men are responsible for initiating some neighborhood activities; others are promoted by churches, 4-H Clubs or Home Economics Clubs, while still others are spontaneous developments growing out of the attempts of rural people to adjust themselves to the restricted use of the automobile.

The isolation of rural young people on farms and the curtailment of their contacts with other young people for leisure-time activities has contributed to their uneasiness and dissatisfaction with farm life, particularly if they are unmarried. A recent graduate of the two-year course in agriculture at the New York State College of Agriculture writes:

With the ban on pleasure driving a single farm hand like

myself has no means of contact socially or anything of the kind. To young fellows the Army, with its fellowship at least, looks far better than being stuck on a farm where we are more or less isolated.

Many rural organization leaders are participating with their neighbors for the first time in their adult lives. To illustrate, here is the essence of a conversation with an officer of a prominent rural organization:

One of the families near our farm organized a party for a local boy who was leaving for the Army. They couldn't call in their usual friends because of gasoline and tire rationing so they just called in the folks who lived close enough to walk. I was surprised at what a good time we had together. They're really nice people. They had lived there six years and I had never learned to know them.

Many rural individuals belong to special interest groups whose membership is highly selective according to income, education, occupation, and social standing of the family. Where neighborhood meetings are held neighbors with unlike interests, with various nationality backgrounds and from different social levels of the community are thrown together in neighborhood activities. It is sociologically interesting to observe the difficulty some of them have in adjusting to this situation. Many who are skillful in special interest organizations have difficulty in assuming the role of leader in the more informal situation of a neighborhood. In fact, the neighborhood leader plan of the Extension Service and the



block leader plan of the War Councils have occasionally failed to function because prominent people who had been successful in community-wide work have proved to be inexperienced and unable to promote neighborhood functions. On the other hand, many new people have been "discovered" as they have come forward and furnished leadership for new crisis situations.

Attempts at recreating the neighborhood units bring into relief some of the fundamental changes in the structure of rural communities since the days of horse and buggy transportation. Proximity of residence no longer insures acquaintance or common participation. Organization participation has become increasingly selective—likeminded individuals in a community have grouped themselves together in congenial aggregations for sociability, recreation, religion or the protection of economic interests. Families who in the past furnished neighborhood leadership have in this generation largely abandoned such responsibility in favor of participation in a variety of organizations usually meeting in the village rather than in the neighborhood. A new generation has grown up under the influence of an automobile-patterned community. As a consequence when neighborhood activities are attempted at the present time people are socially uncomfortable in one another's homes for they have had no previous participation in common. It is also true that the population of neighborhoods is not as homogeneous as previously. Frequently Yankees

are intermingled with American-born Scandinavian or German farmers, or Polish and Italian farmers or occasionally a Jewish family. This is not a congenial combination to bring together in the home of some family who takes pride in having successfully farmed their land for a hundred years.

There is a very definite tendency for the pattern of social stratification in a community to carry over into the organization of wartime activities. Individuals of high status seek out war emergency jobs with high status and expect lower status people to take lower status positions. Officials who have ignored the existence of these prestige classes have inadvertently handicapped war programs. An exception to this occurs when a new crisis situation demands immediate and effective leadership. In this case people tend to respond to the individual who comes forward and successfully handles the problem. Leadership of this type in the older communities is subject to criticism from the established leaders. Competency is not enough; in some communities one must also be socially acceptable.

The restrictions on transportation are credited with contributing to an increase in juvenile delinquency in small villages and neighborhoods located some distance from the usual centers of recreation and leisure-time activities. Previously young people drove to nearby community centers or cities for movies, dances, bowling, roller skating, and other forms of commercial recreation. Now

they cannot drive to their community centers and have no recreation substitute in their neighborhoods. In some localities families have opened their homes for good times, but, for the most part, families have not developed the leadership skills for this type of activity. Consequently, the most prevalent condition in farm neighborhoods is a complete lack of social recreation. In some villages the schoolhouses formerly used for evening community activities have been closed because of the fuel shortage. At the same time many leaders of 4-H Clubs, Scout troops and Sunday School activities have left for the armed forces or industrial employment. This combination of circumstances plus the stimulation of violence by war news has encouraged behavior that leads to delinquency.

In many places there is no demand for neighborhood activity, particularly among adults. They seem willing to forego their contacts with other people in community meetings and confine themselves to their regular employment and one or two war activities such as Red Cross sewing. For information and news they depend upon the radio and the daily newspapers. When the Extension Service organized the neighborhood leader plan<sup>1</sup> in New York State a year ago it was anticipated that many neighborhood leaders would organ-

ize locality meetings. This has not been the case; in fact, there has been resistance to "calling meetings." These neighborhood leaders prefer to use the telephone, the mail or door-to-door distribution of printed matter to get war emergency information to the farm families for whom they are responsible. This hesitancy to call neighborhood meetings is not entirely due to lack of transportation because many neighborhood leaders' homes are within walking distance. This reticence seems to be due more to what we have previously been discussing—lack of experience in organizing locality activities. There is a marked tendency to depend upon a secondary type of contact rather than a face-to-face contact for handling this neighborhood work.

Rural school boards are having difficulty obtaining well-trained teachers because young women object to living in isolated localities. One State Teachers College reports that in a graduating class of nearly a hundred elementary school teachers only six are willing to take one-room school positions. Many others will not accept rural consolidated school jobs if they are located in villages off the railroad or bus lines. Many also object to the low salaries. There is better pay working on an assembly line or in a city school than in the rural schoolroom. Consequently the quality of teaching in rural communities will undoubtedly suffer until rural school teaching is more attractive to competently trained young people and until an automobile can again be used to break the isolation of a rural teaching job.

<sup>1</sup> These Extension Minute Men, or neighborhood leaders as they are known in other states, are the local units of a system developed to reach all farm families with war information and to obtain the reaction of farmers to government programs for the guidance of government officials in promoting the war program.

### **The Impact of Population Movements Upon Rural Community Life**

The population exodus from rural communities has been extensive and rapid. There are very few single young people above high school age left in the farming areas of the northeast. The one major exception to this is in those localities near enough war industries to permit industrial employment while living at home. The population composition of communities from which there has been extensive migration has been markedly changed. Such communities now have a very large proportion of individuals in the dependent-age groups, under 16 and over 64 years of age. The productive-age groups in the population have decreased and are now composed largely of established family units with dependent children. Residents of poor land areas have migrated in large numbers if they were not in the older age bracket or did not live close enough to industrial employment to commute to work. In good land areas some farmers' sons have remained to participate in farming. For the most part this is true only on the better farms and where the boy is in partnership with his father or is planning to take over the home farm. There have been many cases, however, where community pressure has forced boys into the Army. The local girl friends who asked, "Where is your uniform?" and the isolation of farm life have contributed to the exodus. High industrial wages have enticed a number of established farmers to sell their herds and to accept

industrial jobs for the duration. Some of them are continuing to live on their farms and to do part-time farming with the help of family labor. Many of them intend to return to farming after the war.

The elderly and retired people who live in small villages are having difficulty obtaining the customary odd job man to shovel walks, bring groceries, make gardens and mow lawns. The exodus of doctors and nurses further complicates life in these communities. These things become serious in villages that formerly had 12 to 15 per cent of their population above 65 years of age and at the present time have probably 15 to 20 per cent in that age group.

### **The Impact of the War Upon Community Activities and Organizations**

Rural localities are asked to organize almost as great a variety of war activities as are cities. The typical northeastern village of a thousand population with its surrounding area of an additional thousand people has normally 55 to 75 active organizations. To this peacetime set-up the war program has added approximately 25 emergency activities. Some of these are promoted by new organizations; others have been taken over by established groups. This is obviously a heavy organizational load even in the most efficiently organized communities. However, most of these new programs operate independently of one another and separately report to the county, state and national agencies responsible for war work.

Some of these programs are coordinated on a county level through the county war councils, but not all of them. The attempts at coordination have been many and varied. Most plans for coordination by war councils have been organized along political lines and under the supervision of village mayors and township supervisors. These plans are set up for each village, city and township in the county. This procedure follows the pattern of local government and protects the political interests of the elected officials. In most cases it has little or no relationship to the natural social areas. Consequently, within a single community there will be several coordination plans—one for the village, and one for each township in the area. In one extreme case in central New York there are eleven units of local government within a single community. The organization of war programs has very clearly demonstrated the fundamental conflict between the "local unit of government" plan of organization versus the "natural community area" plan of organization for all types of programs that come down to farm people from overhead groups and agencies.

When necessity compels coordination the method frequently used is to appoint a coordinator with power over the programs to be coordinated. It follows essentially the theory of straight-line organization, with each position subordinate or superordinate to the other. Business men and war veterans are prone to advocate this method. The community council plan is an alternative method used in some

cases and there is a tendency to turn to it as local war programs become more complicated. Nearly all councils are built on the assumption that the individuals in the council have equal rights and authority. These councils are composed not only of individuals responsible for various phases of the war program but also of officers of established agencies and local governmental officials. It is the hope of those promoting councils that they will continue after the war as community planning agencies. So far, there is little to indicate that any local emergency organization will be continued after the war.

This article has emphasized those impacts of the war upon rural communities that are negative and restrictive in their effect rather than positive. It is not the intention of the author to imply that the sole influence of the war on rural life is negative in nature. It must be admitted that the war economy has appreciably increased the farmer's income and given him an opportunity to pay his debts and to save for the time he can make improvements in his farm plant. The emergency labor being recruited to take the place of experienced farm help, that has left for the armed services and industrial employment, brings new types of people to the rural community. There will be city boys and girls, work gangs of southern Negroes, and folks from the southern mountains. Many localities will experience the growing pains of assimilating these people whose customs are quite different from their own. Old timers will clash



with newcomers but in doing so they will get acquainted with people from other parts of the nation. Also there will be an opportunity for improved village-country relations as merchants cooperate with farmers by closing their businesses to help harvest the crops. The intense interest with which communities follow the military careers of their boys on the fighting fronts all over the world carries with it an education in geography and international relations, all of which will be needed as we face post-war problems. Then too, the government's use of the neighborhood plan to reach all farm families rather than a selected few will demonstrate an organization technique that has possibilities in the post-war period. Some of the urbanward migration of farm young people cannot be regretted. During the depression era many rural youth who normally would have migrated did not do so and it was not until war jobs were available that they had desirable eco-

nomic opportunities. It is entirely probable that many of them will never return to rural communities, but will become another contribution of the farm home to the urban population.

To summarize, the impact of the war on rural community life in the northeastern states seems most pronounced in those phases of living sensitive to restrictions on transportation. The limited use of the automobile has upset many of the established patterns of association. The rapid exodus of young people has created a shortage of farm labor and a curtailment of community services. The war has thus produced a rural situation in which the sociologist should be busy testing his theories of community organization not only because there is an unusual opportunity to evaluate their validity critically, but because there is a patriotic obligation to assist in the solution of wartime problems.



# Differential Achievement Among Iowa Counties in Civilian War Programs\*

*By C. Arnold Anderson and Bryce Ryan†*

## ABSTRACT

Effective community performance on civilian war programs contributes significantly to success in total war. Interest in these programs, however, has been limited by preoccupation with protective services such as air-raid defense plans. Even so, Civilian Defense offices are not yet effectively organized in all counties, and they exist in few local communities. Scrap iron collection and bond sales have been more successful. There was little consistency of performance in different programs. Counties with efficient Civilian Defense offices were not markedly superior in either bond selling or scrap iron collection; and counties with good records on one of these last campaigns were not superior on the other one. Comparing the individual factors related to successful programs, we find that high income levels, strong Farm Bureaus, large urban populations, and sizeable German groups were favorable factors. Having many men in military service did not motivate counties to excel on the home front. Chance elements in local organization and leadership are probably more important than the factors studied in determining the success of civilian mobilization.

## RESUMEN

La eficiente ejecución por la comunidad de los programas civiles de guerra contribuye grandemente al éxito en la guerra total. Sin embargo, el interés en estos programas ha sido limitado por las preocupaciones en los servicios de protección, tales como los planes de defensa antiaérea. Aún así, las Oficinas de Defensa Civil no están todavía bien organizadas en todos los condados y solo existen en muy pocas comunidades locales. La recolección de hierro viejo y la venta de bonos han tenido mayor éxito. Hubo muy poca consistencia en la realización de los distintos programas. Los condados con eficientes oficinas de Defensa Civil no fueron notablemente superiores en la venta de bonos ó en la recolección de hierro viejo, aquellos condados que superaron en una de estas dos campañas no fueron los mejores en la otra. Al comparar los factores individuales relacionadas con los programas que tuvieron éxito, encontramos que los altos niveles de entradas, las fuertes Agencias Agrícolas, las grandes poblaciones urbanas, y los grandes grupos de alemanes fueron los factores que ayudaron a los condados a superar en el frente doméstico. Ciertos factores fortuitos en las organizaciones locales y en los lideratos son probablemente más importantes que los factores estudiados al determinar el éxito de la movilización civil.

Total war demands the refocusing of both vocational and non-vocational civilian activities toward the achievement of victory. As states differ in their capacity to contribute toward war programs, so do the counties within a state; wealthy counties can buy more bonds and those with a

youthful population can furnish more soldiers. Ability to contribute is a basic factor underlying achievement. Clearly this is not the sole criterion, however. To capacity must be added a complex of other conditions; patriotic zeal, willingness to sacrifice, and organizational efficiency. These attributes must be considered along with ability in estimating the share of the total burden that any particu-

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lar group will carry, in the absence of compulsion.

There has been a wide variation among Iowa counties in their contributions to specific war programs. We have attempted to correlate these differences in performance with certain social characteristics of the 99 counties. The analysis has had to be cursory; data are meager and only a few of the background factors can be stated objectively. It was hoped, nevertheless, that such study could be of some assistance in formulating new programs and in foretelling the circumstances in which standard achievement would be difficult to secure, as well as the areas where results would be forthcoming with a minimum of outside stimulus or aid.

Four spheres of civilian participation were studied: war bond sales, scrap iron collection, civilian defense organization, and the activity of farmers in educational programs. While these do not cover the full range of civilian effort, they do represent areas of great emphasis.<sup>1</sup> A number of factors for which county data were available were presumed to bear upon achievement. The proportions of the population that were urban and rural-farm served as the broadest measure of the social structure of the county. The representa-

tion of foreign, and especially German, stock identified counties with ethnic components that might be expected to deviate from typical wartime attitudes. As measures of economic level we used the county war bond quotas; these had been carefully weighted, with stress upon current income. The percentage of the farm population belonging to the Farm Bureau provided an indication of the county's organizational level. So also did the degree of organization of the Office of Civilian Defense, which was both a measure of war achievement and potentially a factor in other civilian achievements. The degree of personal involvement in the military aspect of the war was assumed to be represented by the ratio of men in military service to the total population.<sup>2</sup> Finally, we have compared current bond sales with those for the third Liberty Loan drive in 1918 in order to show the consistency of present civilian achievement with that of the last war.

### The Iowa Background

The social structure of Iowa is essentially rural despite its high degree of urbanization in culture compared with other agricultural states. Within the state, however, the southern section is neither prosperous nor urban, in many ways corresponding more to the stereotype of Missouri than of Iowa. Organizational activity in Iowa is strongly conditioned by the

<sup>1</sup> The materials used are not of equal validity and do not relate to identical periods. They have been accumulated as opportunity permitted rather than through a single research survey. We have included only a few numerical results in this paper, since to present the data adequately would have required considerable space. If there is sufficient demand for the full results, they can be mimeographed.

<sup>2</sup> If voluntary enlistments alone could have been secured, these might have been used as a measure of achievement rather than as a background factor.

predominance of agriculture. Before Pearl Harbor Iowa was isolationist and non-interventionist, but this fact is of doubtful relevance to the present study since the attitudes rested more on grounds of national self-containment than pacifism. It is improbable that war programs have been affected by these pre-war attitudes since the quick shift to emphasis upon military efficiency.

Civilian participation has received a specific definition among Iowans, as in the nation generally, quite divergent in many respects from that most appropriate to the situation objectively regarded. "Food For Freedom" is undeniably Iowa's first task. But when extra-vocational activities are considered, a primary conception of the civilian's role has been protection from attack. This mood, in large measure encouraged by the state OCD administration, has focused attention upon the dramatic.<sup>3</sup> Community service projects have enlisted little interest. It is undeniable that sale of war bonds and collection of scrap iron are important to citizens, but they hardly comprise a war program. With Iowa's protected position and relative lack of military objectives, the prevailing narrow and dramatic conception of public service is discordant.

#### Civilian Defense

Since county and local civilian defense offices are by design integrat-

<sup>3</sup>A systematic analysis of the kind of civilian participation, other than occupational, suited to modern warfare may be found in Hart, Anderson, Ryan, and Stacy, "We Can't All Shoot, But . . ." *National Municipal Review*, (June, 1942).

ing agencies for civilian war work, their degree of organization should be related to county war achievement. Rapid and efficient establishment of this agency should reflect not only achievement as such but also provide a substantial basis for other varieties of service.

Iowa has been slow to organize its civilian defense machinery, and at the present time effectiveness in constructive programs is low. The protective services have been strongly emphasized, but it is doubtful if Iowa's performance is distinctive compared to other states—except around the capital city.

A study conducted last summer<sup>4</sup> revealed that every county had a civilian defense office, but that less than one-fourth of the councils held regular meetings. In more than a third of the counties there were no community defense councils. Less than a third had made plans for the establishment of a Citizens' Service Corps, and the average county had about one-half of the recommended committees functioning. Approximately half the counties had opened volunteer offices, but only about half of these had utilized volunteers for any program.

On the protective side organization was a little stronger, but here also the average county was prepared for

<sup>4</sup>This study was conducted by Margaret Warnken Ryan and Bryce Ryan for the Iowa League of Women Voters. For a more complete statement of the findings, see the *Iowa Farm Economist*, October, 1942, editorial page. The counties returning questionnaires are distributed quite similarly to all counties for the various factors used in the present analysis.

only five of the 16 recommended protective functions. It should be recognized that many of these branches were quite unnecessary in many Iowa counties. This condition did little to retard the determination of the state office to mobilize Iowans, farmers and urbanites alike, to the immediate threats of air attack and sabotage. While it would be pointless to dispute the desirability of establishing a skeleton of protective services, one must remark the inability of state or local leaders to perceive the broader and more immediate threats to local welfare.

A rating scale was devised to evaluate the status of civilian defense in the counties in June, 1942.<sup>5</sup> There were several factors which were associated in moderate degree with adequacy of civilian defense organization. Superior OCD offices were more likely to be found in the urban counties and to be distinctly lacking in those counties with the largest part of their people living on farms. The wealthier counties were better organized; few counties below the median on income had good OCD offices.

Counties with large foreign groups showed up slightly poorer; proportion of German stock, however, was uncorrelated. Contribution of soldiers and sailors was reflected only weakly in OCD efficiency; only at the top extreme was there any association.

<sup>5</sup> The ratings were based on these items: Regularity of meetings, number of recommended committees formed, representation of outside civic organizations on the council, organization of the Service Corps, establishment and use of a volunteer office, organization of community defense councils.

Counties that had large Farm Bureau memberships were distinctly better organized for civilian defense also. This result is congruent with the influence of wealth and urban concentration.

### Bond Sales

Where the inadequacy of coordinated community organization may have retarded special drives, autonomous committees have carried on. In the first half of 1942 Iowans had purchased 43 per cent of their annual bond quotas, as compared with 35 per cent for the nation. This result was attained despite the fact that up to the first of September, systematic pledge campaigns had been completed in less than a third of the counties. Half of the counties had reached their quotas by the end of the year.<sup>6</sup>

Several factors were related to bond selling achievement, measured by the ratios of sales to quotas. The wealthier counties were conspicuously more successful, and the urban ones exceeded the rural by a small margin. Again, Farm Bureau membership was an important factor. Of considerable interest is the fact that localities with large proportions of German people made a better record than other counties. A similar relationship, though less marked, held for foreign stock generally. The presence of sons and brothers in military service does not appear to have motivated larger bond purchases.

<sup>6</sup> For additional information on the bond sales in Iowa, and particularly for a description of local organization programs that were outstanding, see Edward D. Allen, "War Bond Campaigns" (Mimeo), Department of Economics, Iowa State College.



While none of these relationships is unreasonable, we know that wealthier counties tend to have more persons of German descent and also more active Farm Bureaus. In order to control this influence of financial status, the counties were divided into two groups, those below and above the median on bond quotas (wealth and income). It was then quite clear that counties with strong German elements bought more bonds, whatever their level of economic well-being. Poorer counties with more than average percentages of Germans equaled the rich ones with fewer Germans. The influence of German descent was greater, however, among the poor counties than among the wealthier.

Nor is the attainment of strong Farm Bureau counties solely a reflection of economic superiority. At each economic level the counties with large memberships did better than others; and, like the influence of German descent, this was more marked among the poorer counties.

#### Scrap Iron Collection

While no quotas were set for scrap collecting, the range of accumulation is worth noting. Four counties gathered less than 100 pounds per capita; 28, 100-199 pounds; 30, 200-299 pounds; and 36 counties brought in more than 300 pounds per resident—one county in fact obtaining over 800 pounds. The newspapers made the campaign their own, with resulting wide attention and coverage throughout the state. A survey of a state-wide sample of farmers in October found that three-fourths of them had been solicited, with prac-

tically no differences between various parts of the state.

In this field of civilian endeavor we observe much the same associations as for bond sales, although income was less important. Since counties with much farm machinery in a state like Iowa might be expected to have more obsolete machinery, value of machinery per farm was included among the factors. Our expectation was not confirmed; counties with more machinery turned up very little more scrap, and the more rural counties made a slightly poorer showing than the urban.

The German and the foreign counties again excel. Farm Bureau membership in this instance was of negligible importance. Recruitment to the armed services is but slightly associated with scrap collection.

When economic status is held constant, German stock and Farm Bureau membership reveal some favorable influence upon this campaign. There was some carryover of farm organizational experience into war drives, especially in the poorer counties. It is surprising, however, that this experience did not bulk larger on the specific campaign where house to house neighborhood contacts would be expected to play an important role.

#### Organizing for War Production

One important measure of civilian mobilization in any agricultural state is the extent to which farmers are tied into organized activities to stimulate food production.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Our data come from the Iowa Wartime Farm Survey for October. The sample is small but its general reliability has been established.



Few farmers attended meetings on production problems during the summer season, and the majority had attended no war meetings of any kind. Only bond meetings drew as many as a third of the farmers; anti-inflation discussions, an eighth. Explanations of how to increase production attracted 14 per cent, human nutrition 9 per cent, animal diseases 7 per cent. Even fewer farmers reported attending meetings dealing with fire prevention, credit, or labor. There is no way of knowing how many meetings were held in the state, but the sketchy picture summarized here does not indicate a high level of educational activity through this medium, at least during summer months.

The Survey sample is not designed to permit comparisons among counties, but only by type-of-farming area. Differences among these sections in attendance at one or more educational meetings ranged from a third to a half. Attendance in part reflected the varying importance of different problems to different parts of the state, though the northeast dairy farmers were most interested in a variety of topics. Tenure class differences were slight, but large operators more frequently attended meetings.

As another measure of the extent of mobilization toward increased production, we made limited inquiry into the effectiveness of certain aspects of the Extension Service program. Educational Cooperators have been selected throughout the state to familiarize their neighbors with pro-

duction goals, methods of producing more food, and to distribute educational material as it is published by the Extension Service. In the October Survey farmers were asked if they knew the name of their cooperator. Only a fifth knew their neighbor in his capacity as local cooperator. This proportion did not vary with tenure, but large operators were more likely to report affirmatively.

These approximate measures do not imply that war production information is failing to reach the majority of farmers. As one index of the less personal aspects of farmer mobilization we obtained reports on the distribution of four educational leaflets distributed through the Educational Cooperator system between February and May, 1942. Two-fifths of the farmers reported receiving the first and 54 per cent the last of these pamphlets. It is impossible to evaluate the effect of faulty memory upon these reports, but it seems reasonable to conclude that there has been some increase in the scope of this educational program with the passing of time.<sup>8</sup> No over-all evaluation of the success of educational programs in this sphere can be completed with these scattered data. It is evident, however, that full and intense coverage of all farmers is still a considerable distance from achievement.

#### Consistency In Achievement

Two measures of consistency have been utilized here: sustained level of performance over time, and achieve-

<sup>8</sup> A more complete report of this investigation is given in "Pamphlets on Parade," *Iowa Farm Economist*, (January, 1943), 23.

ment in different types of civilian program. On the first point our information is limited to two statements. Counties that sold many bonds in the first part of 1942 also sold more than the average amount during the remainder of the year. Second, the counties that ranked high in per capita scrap iron collections in the first half of the campaign retained their positions at the end of the drive by continuing to bring in large amounts. It would appear, therefore, that the well organized counties were also the promptly organized counties, at least in any one sphere of participation.

When we consider the consistency among programs, it is logical to use the rapid development of effective Civilian Defense Offices as not only a direct measure of mobilization but also as an indication of the presence of an organizational framework to be used in various kinds of war activity. Our data do not reveal the stronger OCD counties to be superior in other programs, however. There is a slight positive association between the score on OCD and bond sales, but none with scrap collection. The better organized counties, with respect to the OCD, brought in 20 pounds less scrap than the more poorly organized ones; on bonds, the better organized counties obtained only 10 per cent more of their quota. Nor does organization for civilian defense produce a running start on other programs. Should we conclude that the emphasis on drama in OCD is a handicap, or that civilian defense is mainly a paper organization?

Somewhat more astonishing is the lack of relationship between success in selling bonds and in collecting scrap. It has been shown earlier that success in each of these programs is associated with the same factors. The lack of correlation between the two programs indicates, therefore, that particular counties—but counties of the same general type—excelled on one or the other but not on both of these campaigns. This indicates that no general organizational framework lay behind a successful achievement and that success in one drive has no general prognostic value for success in another drive.

One measure of historical consistency is obtained by comparing bond sales (in ratio to quota) in 1942 and 1918. It is impossible to validate the 1918 quotas today, but they were by intent carefully devised. We find a clear negative relationship; the more successful counties last time did less well this time. While the question does not deserve intensive analysis, we may hazard two explanations for the discordance. In World War I it was only by dint of great effort that many farmers were persuaded to look upon bonds as a good investment. "Urbanization" since 1918 has no doubt weakened this resistance, as has the experience of being paid off on their earlier purchases. In 1918 the bond program was unpopular among many persons of German descent, while in 1942 those of German descent are excelling other groups. There is an additional imponderable of local leadership and initiative, which appears to be in con-

siderable measure "historical accident." Certainly, the "community success" pattern appears to be transitory.

### Conclusions

None of the background factors influencing civilian mobilization has predictive value for individual counties. A few factors, however, were moderately associated with effective performance.

The more successful counties had a higher financial status, stronger Farm Bureaus, larger urban populations, and prominent German components. Identification with the war through men in service had little relationship with civilian effort.

Success in one drive, however, offers no basis for expecting distinction in another campaign. From the associations reported we can conclude that certain types of counties—urban, German, wealthy—may be expected to exceed other types by a moderate amount. But it is not the same counties that are in the lead each time. Even sorting out the counties that are high on income, German population, and Farm Bureau membership combined shows no marked contrast with the counties low on all three of these factors. Certain common conditions therefore underlie energetic mobilization, but communities have not spread their "driving power" into all programs.

Surprisingly enough, the development of the OCD had little bearing upon success in community war campaigns. As an organizational factor the Farm Bureau apparently was more important; perhaps unidentified conditions explain both large Farm Bureau membership and success in mobilization for war.

Most of the relationships obtained were of moderate degree. We seem to have identified receptive conditions more than factors of achievement; for example, income level carries with it innumerable factors. More definite inferences are justified with respect to the effect of German residents. These citizens can view the war in more personal light, regarding the Nazis perhaps as a smirch on their ethnic honor. Doubtless the memory of persecutions in 1918 have inspired a determination to give no grounds for the cry of "pro-German" today.

Undoubtedly the "chance" elements in local leadership bulk large in these civilian war programs. Consequently it may well be that the availability of local leadership has tended to outweigh many characteristics which might otherwise be relevant to achievement. Persisting levels of community organization for action have not been revealed, however, by this analysis, although these may appear as events continue.

## APPENDIX

## Association Tables Showing Relationships of Civilian Achievement to Selected Factors†

A.		OCD Score	Scrap Iron (per capita)	Bonds/Quota
1) Persons in military service 0/00 total population		8:17/13:12	18:26/31:24	24:23/25:26
2) Percentage of population of German stock		13:12/13:12	23:25/28:23*	24:23/27:24*
3) Percentage of population foreign born		14:11/11:14	22:26/30:21	23:26/25:25
4) Percentage of population urban		10:14/16:10	22:22/29:23	23:28/25:22
5) Percentage of population rural-farm		16: 9/ 9:16	26:22/24:27	26:21/24:27
6) Percentage of farm population in Farm Bureau		10:14/14:10	20:26/25:25*	16:31/31:17*
7) County bond quota (income level)		12:14/16: 9	21:27/26:25	18:33/30:17
8) Value of farm machinery per farm		.....	24:24/29:22	.....
9) Total scrap collected per capita		14:12/13:11*	.....	.....
10) Percentage scrap collected in first half of drive		11:13/14:11	20:27/27:23	.....
11) Bonds/Quota (8 months)		10:15/14:10*	23:25/24:26	.....
12) Bonds/Quota (12 months)		.....	.....	6:44/43: 6
13) Bonds/Quota, 1918		.....	.....	32:24/19:23

† The data are in the form of condensed, four-fold tables, arranged to save space. The reader can construct conventional tables; e.g., OCD with persons in military service. Thus, 17 counties were above the median on both items and 13 counties below the median on both; 8 were high on military service and low on OCD; 12 were low on military service and high on OCD.

8	17	25
13	12	25
21	29	50

The number of cases is 99, except for tables dealing with OCD where it is 50, unless data were lacking for one or two counties in a particular instance.

\*See adjoined part B containing sub-classifications for income level and certain additional points.

B.		OCD Score	Scrap Iron	Bonds/Quota
1) Percentage of population of German stock		.....		
a) Bond quota under \$1300		.....	12:14/10:11	7:16/15: 9
b) Bond quota over \$1300		.....	12:13/16:11	11:14/13:11
2) Percentage of farm population in Farm Bureau		.....		
a) Bond quota under \$1300		.....	10:15/11: 9	8:17/13: 7
b) Bond quota over \$1300		.....	12:13/14:12	8:16/17: 9
3) Foreign born X Bond quota (income level)		22:28/26:22		
4) German stock X Bond quota		21:27/33:18		
5) Foreign born X Bonds/Quota, 1918		24:23/26:27		
6) German stock X Bonds/Quota, 1918		24:24/26:25		
7) Farm Bureau membership X Bond Quota (income level)		17:30/29:20		



# Effects of War on The Social and Economic Status of Farm Laborers

By Paul S. Taylor\*

## ABSTRACT

War, drawing off the glut of farm laborers, has produced higher wage rates and incomes. The more casual the employment, the greater have been the gains, since employment is fuller. This suggests what thorough labor decasualization might accomplish. Under farm bloc pressure the government program now veers towards immobilization instead of decasualization. This means less efficient use of domestic manpower and loss of opportunity to elevate depressed rural standards, a major problem of the thirties. "Social objectives" and wartime efficiency are not opposed here; they go hand in hand. Heavier importations of foreign labor are in prospect, mainly from Mexico. Protective laws for agricultural workers, who have been "frozen" by deferment from military service, seem unlikely. Newly-perfected labor-displacing machines such as sugar beet and cotton harvesters are not coming into general use now when employment is available, but may be expected at war's end.

## RESUMEN

La guerra, al eliminar la superabundancia de trabajadores agrícolas, ha producido un aumento en los jornales y en los ingresos. Cuanto más casual (transitorio) es el empleo, mayores han sido las ganancias, ya que el empleo es más completo. Esto es una indicación de lo que podría lograr una sola reserva móvil de trabajadores. Bajo la presión del sector agrícola el programa del gobierno ahora se inclina hacia la inmovilización más bien que hacia la movilización. Esto significa menos eficiencia en el uso de los trabajadores agrícolas de la nación y la pérdida de una oportunidad para elevar las bajas normas de la vida rural, un problema de gran importancia durante la década pasada. Los "objetivos sociales" y la eficiencia requerida por la guerra no están opuestos en este caso; marchan de acuerdo. Se esperan mayores importaciones de trabajadores extranjeros, principalmente de México. No parece probable que se aprueben leyes protegiendo a los trabajadores agrícolas que han sido "congelados" al ser diferidos del servicio militar. El uso de maquinaria de reciente perfeccionamiento para reemplazar a los trabajadores, como por ejemplo segadoras de remolacha y algodón, no se generaliza en la actualidad pero es de esperarse al terminar la guerra.

The war is producing a startling contraction of the supply of farm laborers. Last October, according to the USDA Farm Labor Report, the supply stood at only 54 per cent of that obtainable in the base period 1935-39. Since, nevertheless, we harvested banner crops last year, it seems plainer now than ever that in the past our farm labor market has been super-saturated.<sup>1</sup> Curiously, al-

though the index of labor supply fell from 70 to 54 in the year ending October, 1942, or nearly 23 per cent, the

<sup>1</sup> The index of farm labor supply and demand reported currently leaves a good deal to be desired. It has been subjected to much criticism, vide *Senate Civil Liberties Committee, Hearings* pages 17305 and 19548; Varden Fuller, A year on the farm labor front, *Land Policy Review*, Fall 1942, p. 14; and J. D. Black, Agricultural wage relationships, *Review of Economic Statistics*, February and May, 1936, page 6. A revised base, and an explanation appear in *Farm Labor Report*, October 16, 1942; these still leave the meaning and usefulness of the indexes in some doubt.

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24:24/26:26  
17:30/29:20

7) Farm Bureau membership X Bond Quota (income level)

7) Farm Bureau membership X Bond Quota (income level)



total volume of farm employment on October 1, 1942, was virtually the same as the year preceding. How, then, can we speak of any contraction of the supply, which commonly goes by the name "shortage"? How was the number employed maintained despite sharp contraction of the regular supply? The answer is that it was accomplished mainly in two ways: (1) a very small net increase of unpaid workers from the families of farm operators; and (2) a large substitution of inexperienced or "volunteer" workers for regular farm wage workers. There are not so many laborers now who are standing by, waiting for jobs; there are more unpaid family workers, with probably a larger number and proportion than before drawn from those below and above military age; there are more volunteers among the wage workers. While the total number at work during the harvest of 1942 was very little different from the number during the harvest of 1941, the composition of the labor force has changed, and many who are part of it are more fully employed. This is the nature of the "farm labor shortage" which war has produced.

Under our economy—without intervention of wage or price controls—contraction of the supply places the suppliers in a more favorable position, just as increase of supply relative to demand depresses their position. So far as wages and income of farm laborers are concerned this improvement unquestionably is substantial. Cost of living, which advanced 8.9 per cent in large cities from Oc-

tober 1941 to October 1942, probably advanced less in small towns and rural areas. In any case it was far more than offset by the advance in farm wage rates of 33 per cent from October 1941 to October 1942. Furthermore, the wage rate gains of 1942 were added to substantial gains during the period 1939-1941, although these need to be seen in long perspective. As Witt Bowden states in the *Monthly Labor Review* for December 1942: "The general increase in farm wages from 1939 to 1942 was exceptionally large and the increases in most of the States were larger than the rise in hourly earnings in other major employments . . . but the actual levels of farm wages were exceptionally low, as indicated above, even after these increases. In addition there had been lags in farm wages before 1939." The average income of hired farm workers, which stood at 50 per cent of the average income of factory workers in 1909, Bowden points out, had fallen to 32.8 per cent in 1939 and 31.8 per cent in 1940.

Those farm workers whose employment ordinarily is irregular have been twice gainers from the wartime contraction of labor supply. They are benefitting not only from the advance in wage rates but also from the increased employment which lack of competitors makes available to them. These benefits can be much more important than generally is realized. A recent study of the change in earnings between 1940 and 1942, of migratory families in camps operated by the Farm Security Administra-

tion in Arizona and California, shows a gain in employment of 2.7 times, in average daily earnings of 1.9 times, and in average weekly earnings of 5.1 times! The more casual the prior employment, naturally the greater the benefit.

The farm labor market has experienced a series of interventions that affect the status of the workers; like most other sectors of the economy this market has not been left to itself. One of the first of these interventions was a drive to enlist the aid of volunteers, using not wages, but patriotism and fear of food shortage, as the bases of appeal. On the West coast and in some other parts of the country labor from this source attained substantial proportions. A second intervention is the drive to import laborers from abroad, mainly from Mexico. A third is the "freezing" of essential farm labor. Let us examine these three, one at a time.

Volunteer wage workers have come principally from towns and cities to serve as seasonal workers. School children and older persons not available for military service, who are largely unaccustomed to farm work, have been very numerous in the Far West, and in the aggregate effective. In New York about 40,000 high school boys and girls were moved out of cities and villages to work on farms. According to the State Director of the Extension Service, "they needed a little training in the beginning by the farmer, but by and large I think the program was quite successful." These efforts, at least in

New York and on the West coast, are to be expanded greatly in 1943.

Despite the naturally retarding influence on wage rate increases of these additions to the labor supply on the appeal of patriotism, not wages, they are of course amply justified in the national emergency. As an offset, it seems probable that regular farm laborers will receive some indirect benefits from the present influx of volunteers. To enable the volunteers to get to work at the right time and place it has been necessary for farm employers to improve their facilities for transporting workers to and from town, and renewed attention has been drawn to the importance of adequate housing. Unquestionably the working conditions of laborers in industrialized agriculture are scrutinized more closely when city folk and their children are asked to accept them.

In the last war restrictions on immigration of Mexican laborers were relaxed to admit them virtually without supervision beyond that of employers and their agents who went to recruit them at the border ports of entry. In this war the entire importation is conducted directly by the federal government from the recruiting offices in Mexico to the return of the laborers at the end of their period of work in the United States. The importation was arranged between the United States and Mexican governments with an agreement on these terms: Protection of Mexican laborers against race discrimination; guarantees of transportation costs and repatriation; prohibition of use

of Mexicans to displace other workers or to reduce established wage rates; payment of prevailing wages and in no case less than 30 cents an hour; guarantees of employment equal to 75 per cent of the period (exclusive of Sundays) for which they have been contracted; assurance of the right to organize, but only with other workers transported from Mexico; prohibition of strikes or work stoppages, and settlement of disputes through government mediation. Originally, organizations of growers requesting the aid of imported workers were expected to assume financial responsibility for the guarantees; this has been modified under pressure from agricultural employers in a way to leave the government virtually alone as guarantor.

By the end of 1942 about 5,300 Mexicans had been imported under this plan, four hundred to Arizona and the balance into California. The principal initial employment was to harvest sugar beets, but with that operation completed, the laborers are transferred to other agricultural work. As this article goes to press in May 1943 the number in process of importation is rising rapidly.

The Farm Security Administration has had authority to transport farm workers within the United States, and has exercised it—with contractual protection to the laborers transported, including the guarantee of 75 per cent employment—by moving a total of about 8,000 people prior to February 18, 1943. Some 1,500 cotton pickers were transported from the Missouri bootheel and western Ten-

nessee to California and Arizona. About 2,000 people were transported to Florida from New Jersey, North Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, and Alabama. From Virginia, Ohio, West Virginia, and Kentucky about 800 people were transported to New York. These, and other movements of domestic workers and their families by Farm Security Administration, totalled about 7,800 people by the middle of February, 1943. A forecast by the Department of Agriculture of domestic seasonal workers to be transported during the remainder of 1943 totalled 125,000 for the Atlantic seaboard, 55,000 for the Mississippi Valley and Great Lakes states, and 170,000 for the Pacific and Great Plains states, a total of 350,000 seasonal workers. In addition to these seasonal workers, the transportation of 42,000 year-round workers was planned by the Department of Agriculture.

How the transportation of domestic workers will affect the status of farm laborers remains to be seen. Shifting the cost of transportation to the government naturally will benefit those workers who usually pay their own—or their employers in so far as they have paid—in the number that the government actually does assume this responsibility. Other effects depend largely on the volume of movement, the skill in recruiting, and the conditions established to govern the movement. A substantial movement from sub-standard areas, and skillful dovetailing of jobs could substantially increase laborers' income as well as the national efficiency of labor utili-

zation. Under suitable safeguards more satisfactory housing conditions could be assured. Under what conditions and safeguards this program is to be carried out is one of the bitterest issues now before Congress.

At first the government insisted that employers to be supplied with domestic laborers at public expense should subscribe, as a condition of receiving this aid, to guarantees of employment, housing, etc., similar to those given for workers imported from Mexico. Naturally this use of the leverage which control of transportation provides has been variously received. The Southern Tenant Farmers Union, on the one hand, circulated petitions requesting the President to bring farm labor rates for all domestic workers up to the 30 cents per hour minimum agreed to for transported workers. Farm bloc leaders, on the other hand, have bitterly resisted. As a result contracts are no longer exacted of employers receiving laborers, and the Cannon Appropriations Committee of the House inserted a provision in the farm labor appropriations bill, that now has become law, forbidding the Secretary of Agriculture "directly or indirectly to fix, regulate, or impose minimum wages or housing standards, to regulate hours of work, or to impose or enforce collective bargaining requirements or union membership with respect to any agricultural labor" exempted from the Fair Labor Standards or National Labor Relations Acts.

The grossly unequal distribution of workers relative to land resources

and income, and the low levels of living and inefficient use of our agricultural manpower that accompany it, are too well known to rural sociologists to require restatement here. For years an appropriate redistribution of farm population within the country has been accepted by most students as a social objective imperative to prevent national deterioration. The necessity for national wartime efficiency points clearly in the same direction. Unfortunately this seems to be not very generally understood and accepted. Every effort of agricultural employers at the present time appears to be directed toward holding local labor supplies in place, toward checking their movement about the country as needed.

The Cannon Committee, at the instance of the farm bloc, wrote into the law that "Before any transportation out of a county or State is effected, clearance should be had with the appropriate county and State authorities so that local and State needs will not be jeopardized by an exodus which cannot be returned in time to meet the local or State crop requirements." Experience with the reluctance and downright opposition of State Employment Services to co-operation with the United States Employment Services in recruiting laborers for needs outside their own state boundaries, makes clear that adoption of this recommendation is likely to result in 3,000 separate county labor reservoirs. This violates the first principle of efficient labor utilization in a market of fluctuating demand, viz., to decasualize employ-



ment by setting up a single, and therefore smaller, labor reservoir.

Under the recent Tydings Amendment to the Selective Service Act, every registrant found by a local board to be necessary to the war effort shall be deferred from military service; if he leaves that occupation, local boards are instructed—unless they determine that change of occupation is in the best interest of the war effort—to reclassify him in a class immediately available for military service. This has been called "freezing" farm labor, a term to which Governor McNutt objects that "It's not a freeze, but it is simply directing attention to the fact that . . . we must have food, not only to feed men at the front, but to feed our own people and to keep our commitments under lend lease." Before "freezing" agricultural labor in Great Britain the wide gap between farm and industrial wages was closed by raising farm wages.

Without questioning the necessity for protecting essential labor supplies, it cannot be ignored that calling men into military service if they leave their occupation does affect their status. Senator LaFollette called sharp attention to special disadvantages in this compulsion which arise from the fact that, at the instance of agricultural employers, farm laborers have been consistently denied those protections which legislation has thrown around other wage earners. "It is no coincidence," said the Senator in October, "that when manpower came into demand because of our all-out war effort the agricul-

tural wage laborer, particularly the migratory part-time worker, who depended on industrialized or commercialized agriculture, sought to escape from his bondage of poverty and misery to the armed services and the urban factory. As a result there is no reliable agricultural labor supply. . . . Passing any discussion of the desirability or necessity . . . it is quite clear that a necessary preliminary to any wartime handling of farm labor is to give that labor the dignity, standards and rights accorded to other job occupations under our laws. 'Job-freezing' for agricultural labor under present standards would only be self-defeating and a source of shame. . . . Indeed, in many low-wage sections it would approach 'involuntary servitude,' if not achieve it. No solution to this farm labor problem that does not apply the principles of the Atlantic Charter to men on our fields and farms will be effective." Senators LaFollette and Thomas then introduced bills to extend protection of the National Labor Relations Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, and the Social Security Act to agricultural workers on large, industrialized farms.

The President of the National Cooperative Milk Producers' Federation is fearful that "freezing" farm labor will bring in its train the very measures that Senators LaFollette and Thomas demand. "Let's be forewarned," he said early in December, "that the drafting of manpower to be sent wherever needed will bring to the farmers' door the provisions of the Wagner Act and the Fair



Labor Standards Act." The Cannon Committee in the same spirit has rejected even the more limited protections of farm laborers transported at public expense, on the charge that these "would result in the development of a critical situation between farm employers and farm labor which would not harmoniously promote the ends sought for food production."

The most recent measures threaten to call into the military service men who remain in non-essential occupations, but provide for draft deferment to those who shift into agriculture or other essential work. This use of the military service of our country for occupational pressure rather than as an honor leaves something to be desired, but already (early April) it is reported in California to be producing movement into agriculture. Indeed some of the transfers have drawn men away from war industry to agriculture, where deferment is more sure. "Within the last month," states the California weekly agricultural labor market report of April 6, "about 1,000 inquiries have been received by USES offices from industrial workers, and from Army personnel over 38, who are seeking to return to the farm. Less than a third of these have inquired expressly for dairy farm work. These inquiries have come from California industrial areas and from southern and midwestern states and many of those received from within California are from workers whose last farming experience was in the southern and midwestern states. These inquiries are said to be

prompted by dissatisfaction with the housing and food situation, and the general congestion in metropolitan areas. In general, these qualified workers have been promptly placed, with the exception of some married workers who could not be offered adequate housing."

The status of agricultural labor plainly is affected by this program of deferment, but whether to characterize the change as a gain is not entirely clear. The initial gestures of compulsion or "freezing" have not yet brought the protections of social legislation to farm laborers, and the temper of Congress seems at present more in tune with the declaration of a Kansas Congressman that "You can leave out the wage scales and standards of living and all of that. We do not need any of them," than with the proposals of Senators Thomas and LaFollette. This is not the place to debate the merits of protective legislation for farm laborers; it is sufficient to point out that the war is unlikely to bring it.

One of the LaFollette-Thomas bills, called the Agricultural Employment Stabilization bill, seeks to "concentrate the bulk of available agricultural employment on the smallest number of workers and provide them with job security and job seniority in the agricultural labor market." By so doing it expects to lengthen the period of annual employment for those selected as regular employees. The bill deserves more attention than it is receiving, for its natural effect will be to eliminate waste of manpower by agriculture during and

after the war, to attract and hold laborers needed in agriculture by increasing their annual earnings. As foundation for a serious and sustained program of decasualization of the farm labor market the five-fold increase of earnings, cited earlier, in the most fluid agricultural labor market of the Pacific Southwest is significant. This result of the contraction of labor supply and the increase in wage rates because of war clarifies the possibilities for substantial and permanent elevation of the income and status of migratory and casual agricultural laborers.

Volunteer seasonal labor, which has been called forth so extensively by the war, should be built more largely into our permanent operating structure. Its use reduces greatly the necessity for the customary reserves of laborers who stand idle between seasonal peaks, living often in misery and at public expense.

The inefficiency of man-power in agriculture is widespread and age-old. "In no other industry is there such a vast reservoir of inefficiently used labor as exists in agriculture," states an April, 1942, article in *Agricultural Engineering*. "But lack of employment in other industries in the 1930's not only kept many on farms, but sent thousands back to subsistence farmsteads. We had to soft-pedal farm labor saving activities. Today that situation is practically reversed." War confronts us with the need to save manpower in agriculture, and at the same time with shortage of materials for manufacture of machines with which to

save men. A compromise adjustment between these seems necessary. Priorities should be granted to manufacture those machines that promise the greatest saving of manpower with the least materials. Two illustrations will serve.

In November H. B. Walker, Professor of Agricultural Engineering at the University of California College of Agriculture told a United States Senate Committee that by use of "a few hundred tons of metal" for building "certain equipment now known to be operative," labor in California sugar beet production next year "could be reduced as much as four to eight million man-hours." It has been proposed further by agricultural engineers that "at harvest time the government would take over and supervise the harvesting through a pool of machines and labor that would start at the Mexican border and move north as the crop matures."

Manufacture of mechanical cotton pickers probably offers similar prospects for substantial savings of labor. Using 1936 data the National Research Project estimated costs of picking by machines then developed, in comparison to the costs of hand picking. Since 1936 the wages of hand pickers have increased greatly. Even assuming no improvement of machine models during the past six years, and allowing for loss of grade in machine-picked cotton, a strong case had developed by harvest season of 1942 for the economic advantage of machine over hand picking. But since 1936 the Rust Brothers machine has been steadily perfected,

and International Harvester has announced in November, 1942, the "development of a successful mechanical cotton picker and said tests have proved it capable of doing the work of from 50 to 80 hand pickers." It is not hard to understand why priorities of farm machinery must be sharply restricted in wartime, but is not the case to grant priorities for machines of this type clear and distinct? Even those agricultural areas in which machines at first may not operate well will experience relief, for labor saved in one area can be transported to another.

The plan of government operation of a pool of labor and machines that the California College of Agriculture engineers recommend for sugar beet harvesters should be applied also to cotton picker machines. There are two reasons: First at this time, is the fact that it will ensure fuller, more efficient operation than will operation by individual growers or even a group of growers. Second, is the fact that individual ownership of a rather costly machine places a burden and incentive on the owner to displace his neighboring farmer in order by expanding operations to reduce his own overhead costs. Such displacement by farm mechanization had been regarded as a peace-time problem so serious that this has been given as one of the reasons for not introducing cotton pickers earlier. It is the part of wisdom, therefore, as of efficiency, not to throw such powerful forces onto the market uncontrolled.

The effect on labor of a war pro-

gram which accelerates mechanization will be to solve the problem of seasonal migratory laborers by eliminating the labor, so far as the machines are successful. In wartime, the laborers have opportunity to find employment at least as good as that from which they are displaced. Furthermore, increased production per man promises better income and status for those who will remain farm laborers. If we decide not to manufacture beet harvesters and cotton pickers now, we shall dam up the pressure for this mechanization until the post-war, simply postponing the inevitable displacement to a time when laborers may have no better alternative than they had during the thirties. That prospect can hold few attractions. We have the chance now, in war, by a combination of wise legislation, bold administration, and discriminating manufacture of farm machinery to make permanent improvement in the status of farm labor. At the same time we shall promote the war effort.

Oddly, and unfortunately, many farm employers have assumed that achievement of "social objectives" is in some inevitable way opposed to wartime efficiency. Why the maintenance undisturbed of the existing distribution of people in relation to land resources which is known to be low in productive efficiency and to yield notoriously low levels of living—why this should seem to make us strong for the war effort, or why the continuance of innumerable separate county farm labor reservoirs should appear to be the best utilization of

our national agricultural manpower is not clear. One can understand resistance to imposition of social security taxes and more costly housing for laborers even if one disagrees. But in mobilizing our full domestic

farm labor resources for the war effort we should expect clearer recognition that long-run "social objectives" and national efficiency are not in conflict—that on the contrary they go hand in hand.

## Wartime Migration and The Manpower Reserve on Farms in Eastern Kentucky\*

*By Olaf F. Larson†*

### ABSTRACT

Between April 1, 1940 and December 1, 1942 a decrease of 19 percent in the rural-farm population of 33 Eastern Kentucky counties is estimated on the basis of a population census for five selected areas. This decrease exceeded the gain from 1930 to 1940 taking 40 percent of the men 15 to 34 years of age. Few of the emigrants had entered agriculture. Remaining workers estimated as available for more productive employment at the close of 1942 exceeded the number who had left since the 1940 U. S. Census. The low estimate of 63,000 available workers aged 15-59 included 28,000 married men. Wives without children under 10 years of age and youths of 15 and over normally in school part of the year were included in the high estimate of 98,000 available workers.

### RESUMEN

Desde el 1.º de abril de 1940 hasta el 1.º de diciembre de 1942 se calcula una disminución de 19 por ciento en la población rural-agrícola de 33 condados del Este de Kentucky, a base de un censo de población en cinco áreas escogidas. Esta disminución excede al aumento de 1930 a 1940 e incluye el 40 por ciento de los hombres entre 15 y 34 años de edad. Pocos de los emigrantes se fueron a dedicarse a la agricultura. Se calcula que el número de los trabajadores restantes que estaban disponibles para empleos más productivos al finalizar el 1942 excedía el número de los que se habían ido desde el Censo de 1940. El cálculo más bajo es de 63,000 trabajadores disponibles entre los 15 y los 59 años de edad e incluye 28,000 hombres casados. El cálculo más alto es de 98,000 trabajadores disponibles, incluyendo las esposas sin hijos menores de 10 años de edad y jóvenes de 15 o más años que normalmente asisten a la escuela parte del año.

Wartime needs for workers have focused public attention upon the low-income farmers of the Nation as

a great potential reservoir of underemployed manpower which might be recruited to help meet production

\* Based upon data from a cooperative study of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, and the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station. The author was assisted through the collaboration of Howard W. Beers, Kentucky AES, in the original study and by the field work of Paul J. Jehlik and

Josiah C. Folsom, BAE. A companion study of farm production, income, labor requirements and farm combination possibilities was made concurrently by James C. Downing, BAE, and John H. Bondurant, Kentucky AES.

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goals of agriculture and industry. Examination of the 1940 Census data leads to the inescapable conclusion "that in 1939, just as in 1929, the farm plant of the Nation included a large number of persons who were on units which did not provide an efficient utilization of the manpower on them and which did not yield the inhabitants an adequate living."<sup>1</sup>

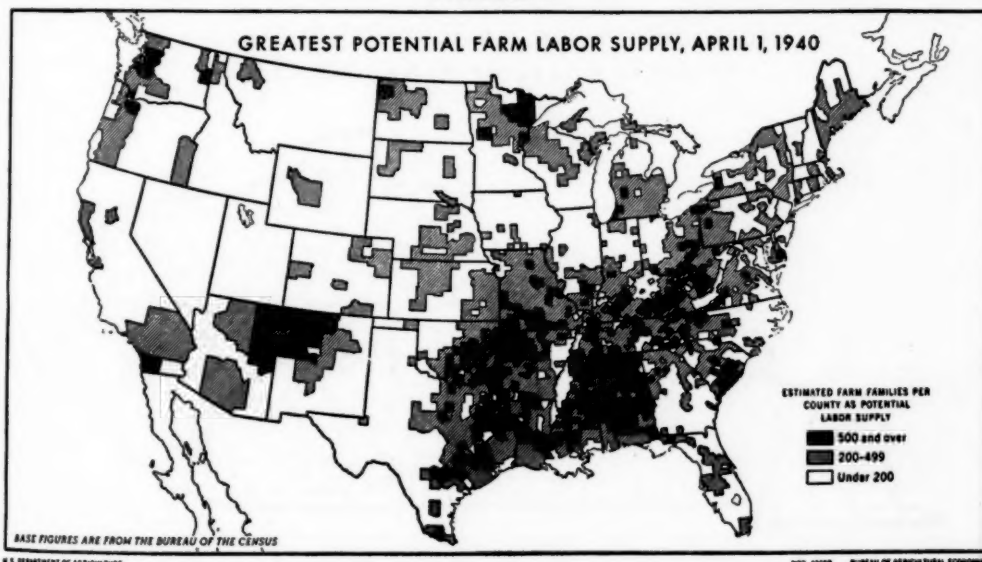
An estimate made in the fall of 1942 indicated that perhaps 700,000 farm families were potentially available for much more productive work than their present farming operations afforded. These were families in which the farm operator was employed nearly full time on his farm; the estimate excluded all share-croppers and made ample allowance for

all aged and incapacitated operators. These potentially available families were shown to be largely concentrated in the rural problem areas which have been characterized by high population pressure and low levels of living, and to some extent by serious land problems (see Figure 1).<sup>2</sup>

Since the estimates were based on 1940 Census data, they were subject to the suspicion that they were no longer valid because the population shifts since 1940 might have removed most of the available workers from

<sup>1</sup> Conrad Taeuber, *Rural Manpower and War Production*, USDA, BAE (Testimony given before the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, House of Representatives, February 13, 1942). Mimeographed, 10 pp.

FIGURE 1



\* The number of farm families per county constituting a potential labor supply as of April 1, 1940, is based upon the number of farms which in 1939 reported less than \$600 worth of products sold, traded or used from which was subtracted the number of operators who reported work off the farm amounting to 100 days or more and the number of sharecroppers. This result was divided by two to make allowance for aged and incapacitated operators.

the low-income rural-farm population. To provide current information for agencies concerned with supplying manpower, a quick survey during November and December, 1942, was made in Eastern Kentucky, an area shown by the estimates to be an important reservoir of potential workers.

This survey showed that despite heavy out-migration since April 1, 1940, a substantial labor supply for agricultural and industrial work in other areas was still available at the close of 1942 on the farms of Eastern Kentucky.

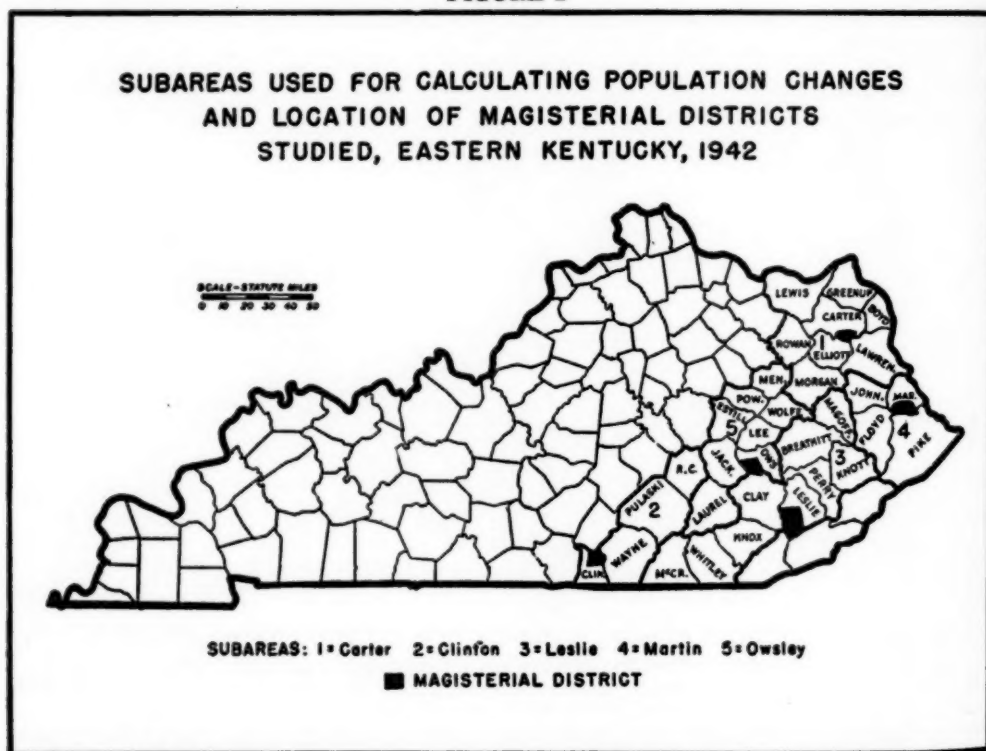
*The Sample*—Through interviews with local informants who reported

on all families in their neighborhoods, a complete population census was taken in five selected magisterial districts; one in each of the following counties: Carter, Clinton, Leslie, Martin, and Owsley.<sup>3</sup> The resident

<sup>3</sup> A marked similarity of pattern is evident in comparing Figure 1 with Figures 4, 17, 32, and 33 in Carl C. Taylor, Helen W. Wheeler, and E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture*, USDA, FSA and BAE, Social Research Report VIII (Washington, D. C., April, 1938) and Figure 4 in Chapter IV of Report of the Committee on Population Problems to the National Resources Committee, *Problems of A Changing Population* (Washington, D. C.; May, 1938).

<sup>4</sup> A comparison of population data obtained through the local informants with that obtained by individual family interviews will be included in a separate paper.

FIGURE 2



population reported numbered 9,560 persons in 2,007 households. The counties were selected to represent five sub-areas comprising, in all, 33 counties in Eastern Kentucky (Figure 2). The magisterial districts in turn were chosen as those most suitable for study of the rural-farm population in the corresponding group of counties.<sup>4</sup> Each district had predominantly a rural-farm population in 1940, the proportions ranging from 79 per cent to 98 per cent. Estimates of the current situation for the 33 county area were arrived at by extension of the ratios for the five selected districts to the five respective groups of counties. Since the limited non-farm population in the selected districts was comprised almost entirely of open-country dwellers, the application of ratios from the total population of these districts to the rural-farm population of the sub-areas was considered to be sufficiently valid.

Economic and social characteristics of the area have been described

in a number of reports.<sup>5</sup> It may suffice here to say that more than nine out of 10 farms reported the total value of products sold, traded, or used as less than \$600 in 1939; three-fourths had less than \$400, and one-half had under \$250 according to the U. S. Census of Agriculture.

*Wartime Outmigration Exceeds Gain of Decade*—During the two years and eight months following the Census of 1940, the rural-farm population of Eastern Kentucky is estimated to have decreased by 85,000 persons, nearly 19 per cent (Table I).

<sup>4</sup> A reconnaissance survey in 20 other of the 33 counties served to check and supplement the information obtained in detail for the five magisterial districts.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, *Atlas of Agricultural Information; Appalachian Region*, USDA (Washington, D. C., July 25, 1942); C. F. Clayton and W. D. Nicholls, *Land Utilization in Laurel County, Kentucky*, USDA Tech. Bul. 289 in cooperation with Kentucky AES (Washington, D. C., 1932); W. D. Nicholls, John H. Bondurant, and Z. L. Galloway, *Family Incomes and Land Utilization in Knox County, Kentucky AES 375* (Lexington, 1937); Howard W. Beers, *Growth of Population in Kentucky, 1830-1940*, Kentucky AES 422 (Lexington, 1942).

TABLE. I. RURAL-FARM POPULATION APRIL 1, 1930, APRIL 1, 1940 AND DECEMBER 1, 1942 AND NUMBER AND PERCENT CHANGE; 33 COUNTIES IN EASTERN KENTUCKY, BY COUNTY GROUPS<sup>1</sup>

County Groups	1930	1940	Change 1930-1940		1942	Change 1940-1942	
			No.	Pct.		No.	Pct.
TOTAL	382,727	449,139	66,412	17.4	364,519	-84,620	-18.8
Carter (8 counties)	82,468	85,270	2,802	3.4	60,286	-24,984	-29.3
Clinton (4 counties)	55,681	59,450	3,769	6.8	48,700	-10,750	-18.1
Leslie (9 counties)	116,172	144,893	28,721	24.7	129,117	-15,776	-10.9
Martin (4 counties)	64,089	83,144	19,055	29.7	72,614	-10,530	-12.7
Owsley (8 counties)	64,317	76,382	12,065	18.8	53,802	-22,580	-29.6

<sup>1</sup> Data for 1930 and 1940 are from the U. S. Census of Population and for 1942 are based upon an extension of ratios for the five magisterial districts surveyed. Percent change from 1940 to 1942 for county groups will not agree exactly with the percent change for the respective magisterial districts since the expansion was by age groups.

Migration off the farm during this period exceeded by 18,000 the gain during the depression decade 1930 to 1940. Rates of loss were uneven within the region, ranging from between 11 and 13 per cent in the Leslie and Martin County groups to over 29 per cent in the Carter and Owsley County groups. In the former groups only about half of the gain of the previous 10 years had been erased while in Carter, nearest to opportunities for industrial employment, the loss was nearly nine times the earlier increase. This outward movement paralleling the rise of defense and war industries and the expansion of the armed forces was continuing apparently without abatement at the time of the field survey. The extent of the movement is one answer to questions of doubt which have been raised about the willingness of Eastern Kentuckians to leave their homes.

Estimates based on the number of registrants for War Ration Book One indicate the total civilian population

in Eastern Kentucky decreased by 59,000 or 8 per cent between April 1, 1940, and May 1, 1942.<sup>6</sup> Decreases were 7.6, 8.0, 9.6, 4.0, and 11.2 per cent for the Carter, Clinton, Leslie, Martin, and Owsley County groups, respectively. Some loss in the total population was shown for each of the 33 Eastern Kentucky Counties included in the present study, a fact which tends to substantiate the changes estimated for the rural-farm population as of December, 1942. Despite evidence of accelerated out-movement from farms during the summer and fall of 1942, it appears that most of the decline in the total population by May can be accounted for by the loss of farm people. Some of the shift of farm people was into the rural non-farm and urban population within Eastern Kentucky rather than a movement out of the area.

<sup>6</sup> Bureau of the Census, *Estimates of the Civilian Population by Counties; May 1, 1942*, Release Series P-3, No. 33 (February 25, 1943).

TABLE II. ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PERCENT CHANGE IN RURAL-FARM POPULATION BY SEX AND AGE, APRIL 1, 1940-DECEMBER 1, 1942; 33 COUNTIES IN EASTERN KENTUCKY

Age	Change					
	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
TOTAL	— 84,620	— 18.8	— 52,516	— 22.5	— 32,104	— 14.9
Under 15 <sup>1</sup>	— 32,196	— 17.6	— 16,455	— 17.6	— 15,741	— 17.6
15-24	— 28,724	— 31.3	— 18,919	— 38.9	— 9,805	— 22.7
25-34	— 17,739	— 34.2	— 12,084	— 45.5	— 5,655	— 22.4
35-44	— 5,404	— 12.7	— 3,546	— 16.7	— 1,858	— 8.7
45-54	578	1.7	822	4.7	1,400	8.7
55-64	— 1,681	— 6.9	— 1,211	— 9.3	— 470	— 4.2
65 and over	546	2.5	521	4.2	25	0.3

<sup>1</sup> Since the sex of persons under 14 was not reported in the survey, males and females under 15 assumed to have the same rate of change.



*Change by Age and Sex*—Farm population decline was greatest among adults under 35 years of age (Table II). For each age group of adults, the loss of men was greater than the loss of women. The number of men aged 15-34 decreased by more than 40 per cent; the number of women this age decreased about half as much. Decreases tended to be smaller for each successive older age group. The number of both men and women aged 65 and over increased slightly. An increase was also shown in the number of women aged 45-54. For every 100 farm children under 15 in 1940 there were only 82 by the end of 1942, a fact which could be accounted for only by out-movement of the family groups to which the children belonged. Men aged 15-64, a most important group in considering future recruitment of workers and fighters, were 29 per cent fewer in number than at the time of the 1940 census.

Each magisterial district followed the same general pattern of having lost more men than women and of having the heaviest losses among young and middle-aged adults (Table III). Out-movement has thus been largely one of individuals, especially men, leaving singly, and of young families. Many heads of families have left their wives and children to carry on the farm operations.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The rate of loss in Eastern Kentucky was not as high as in the low-income area represented by the Spanish-speaking villages of New Mexico during 1939-1942; see Charles P. Loomis, "Wartime Migration from the Rural Spanish-speaking Villages of New Mexico," *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, VII (December, 1942), 384-395.

*Characteristics of Emigrants and Out-Migration Since Pearl Harbor*—

Persons who left during the year following Pearl Harbor from families resident at the time of the survey were predominantly young, male, and unmarried. Information for 713 persons 14 years of age and over who had left since December, 1941, from households still resident a year later, in the five magisterial districts, revealed about three-fourths were unmarried, nearly one-fourth were heads of families, and only a few were wives.<sup>8</sup> Persons aged 15-35 comprised more than two-thirds of those leaving in each district. Persons 45 years of age or older were infrequent among the emigrants, comprising as much as 11 per cent in only the Carter County district which is nearest to opportunities for industrial employment. Women were less than 10 per cent of those leaving in three districts and between 15 and 18 per cent of the total emigrants in the other two. However, excluding men who entered military service, from 17 to 36 per cent of the adults who left from each district were women.

Few of the emigrants were currently employed in agriculture. The highest proportion, 6 per cent, applied to those who left from an area where the U. S. Employment Service and the Farm Security Administration recruited seasonal farm laborers during 1942 and some had not returned by the time of the survey. About half of those leaving since

<sup>8</sup> In addition to the individuals who left from resident households, there were departures of whole families.

TABLE III. AGE AND SEX OF POPULATION APRIL 1, 1940 AND PERCENT CHANGE BY DECEMBER 1, 1942; FIVE SELECTED MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS IN FIVE COUNTIES IN EASTERN KENTUCKY

Age	Population April 1, 1940 <sup>1</sup>									
	Carter No. 6		Clinton No. 3		Leslie No. 3		Martin No. 6		Owsley No. 2	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
TOTAL	1,646	1,384	1,023	936	1,912	1,811	389	350	1,427	1,291
Under 15	662	566	402	346	887	881	195	164	546	472
15-24	342	273	179	185	377	369	62	59	296	259
25-34	184	189	136	123	239	211	43	37	173	160
35-44	154	111	95	101	153	151	39	48	139	133
45-54	121	104	85	80	107	79	27	14	94	102
55-64	94	71	68	61	74	63	10	14	87	72
65 and over	89	70	58	40	75	57	13	14	92	93

Age	Percent Change by December 1, 1942 <sup>2</sup>									
	Carter No. 6		Clinton No. 3		Leslie No. 3		Martin No. 6		Owsley No. 2	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
TOTAL	-32.9	-27.2	-20.1	-16.9	-16.1	-7.3	-16.2	-6.6	-33.9	-24.6
Under 15 <sup>3</sup>	-33.5	-33.5	-7.9	-7.9	-9.7	-9.7	-11.1	-11.1	-31.5	-31.5
15-24	-41.2	-39.2	-33.5	-29.7	-37.7	-19.2	-25.8	11.9	-58.1	-44.8
25-34	-37.5	-39.2	-55.9	-27.6	-36.4	1.4	-48.8	-35.1	-60.7	-30.6
35-44	-31.2	11.7	-7.4	-20.8	-7.8	-6.0	-20.5	-27.1	-19.4	-6.0
45-54	-28.1	-15.4	-14.1	1.2	14.0	35.4	0.0	0.0 <sup>4</sup>	-6.4	6.9
55-64	-28.7	-5.6	-17.6	-26.2	1.4	9.5	0.0	-28.6	-3.4	18.1
65 and over	0.0	0.0	-12.1	-15.0	4.0	-5.3	30.8	35.7	1.1	-16.1

<sup>1</sup> Based on U. S. Census of Population, 1940.

<sup>2</sup> The population on December 1, 1942 as reported by local informants was adjusted for under or over enumeration on the basis of comparisons made with the data obtained by interviews with 359 families. The adjustment factors for persons under 15 were 3.2, 33.8, 4.4, 3.3, and 4.9, and for persons aged 15 and over were -3.2, -6.4, -2.7, -5.0, and 4.8 for the Carter, Clinton, Leslie, Martin and Owsley county districts, respectively.

<sup>3</sup> Since the sex of persons under 14 was not reported in the survey, males and females under 15 were assumed to have the same rate of change.

<sup>4</sup> In estimating the change in the Martin group of counties, it was assumed there was no change in the female population aged 45-54 since the number of females in 1940 in the sample magisterial district appears to have been underenumerated.

Pearl Harbor entered the armed forces, although the proportions varied considerably among the five districts. The majority of the remaining emigrants from these districts entered industrial work, principally in the Ohio Valley, Great Lakes, and Eastern cities—and coal mining in Kentucky and West Virginia. It was

apparent that migration to jobs was largely without public agency guidance.

*Age and Sex of Population Remaining*—Out-movement which has already occurred has altered the composition of the population by decreasing the proportion of workers, increasing the proportion of young and

aged dependents and decreasing the ratio of men to women.

Not only did the number of men aged 15-64 decrease in Eastern Kentucky's rural-farm population but the proportion also decreased, dropping from 28 per cent in 1940 to 25 per cent in 1942 (see Table IV). However, all of the proportionate decline was among men under 35 years of age which means the reserve of remaining workers was an older group than before the exodus began. An age-sex pyramid for the 33 county area would show the bars representing men 25-34 to be overhung by the bars for men 35-44 and 45-54, a rather unusual situation. Although there was a marked decline in the number of children under 15 years of age, they came to constitute a slightly larger proportion of the total. Persons aged 65 and over not only increased slightly in number but in proportion. The pattern of an increased proportion of the total population in the dependent age groups and a decrease in the percentage of men of working age was common to

each of the five magisterial districts, however, the Carter and Owsley districts did not have an increased proportion of children under 15. The age and sex structure of the Leslie County district had changed less than the others, indicating some delay in the full impact of the war being felt in this more isolated area.

The large and unusual deficit of men would be likely to occur in a population only as the result of war or migration.<sup>9</sup> In the rural-farm population of Eastern Kentucky, in every age group there were 100 men or more per 100 women in 1940. By December, 1942, there were only 74 men per 100 women in the age group 25-34. In each ten-year age group

<sup>9</sup> The number of males per 100 females in the rural-farm population of the 33 counties was as follows:

Age	Apr. 1, 1940 (U. S. Census)	Dec. 1, 1942 (Survey)
Total	108	98
Under 15	105	105
15-24	112	89
25-34	105	74
35-44	100	91
45-54	109	96
55-64	116	110
65 and over	126	132

TABLE IV. RURAL-FARM POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX; APRIL 1, 1940 AND DECEMBER 1, 1942; 33 COUNTIES IN EASTERN KENTUCKY<sup>1</sup>

Age	Number		Percent					
	Total		Total		Male		Female	
	1940	1942	1940	1942	1940	1942	1940	1942
TOTAL	449,139	364,519	100.0	100.0	51.8	49.5	48.2	50.5
Under 15	183,005	150,809	40.8	41.3	20.9	21.2	19.9	20.2
15-24	91,795	63,071	20.4	17.3	10.8	8.1	9.6	9.2
25-34	51,835	34,096	11.5	9.4	5.9	3.9	5.6	5.4
35-44	42,525	37,121	9.5	10.2	4.7	4.9	4.8	5.3
45-54	33,568	34,146	7.5	9.4	3.9	4.6	3.6	4.8
55-64	24,314	22,633	5.4	6.2	2.9	3.3	2.5	2.9
65 and over	22,097	22,643	4.9	6.2	2.7	3.5	2.2	2.7

<sup>1</sup> Based upon U. S. Census of Population for 1940 and survey estimate for 1942.

between 15 and 54 the women outnumbered men. A decline in the ratio of men to women was common to each of the five magisterial districts, although there were some variations by age groups. In the Owsley district among persons aged 25-34 only 61 men per 100 women were left.

If the age and sex distribution of late 1942 were to continue long, it would be reflected in higher rates of social dependency, higher illness and death rates, and lower birth rates. Because of the loss of productive workers, income per capita from agricultural production would be likely to decline, even though the acreage of land per capita increased. Schools have already been affected through a reduction in the number of children of school age, reduced enrollment particularly at the high school level, poor attendance as children stay out to work, loss of teachers who are re-

placed by others on a "permit" basis, and by the closing and consolidation of schools. Further losses of workers will be likely to aggravate these trends.

*Workers Still Available for More Productive Employment* — Despite the decrease in the rural-farm population of Eastern Kentucky since the 1940 U. S. Census, a substantial reserve of under-employed or unproductively employed workers remained in December, 1942. Two estimates—a low and a high—were made of the extent of this reserve since in wartime there is a pressure to employ single and married women, and youths not normally a part of the gainfully employed labor force. The low estimate of 63,000 available workers left in the 33 counties includes 28,000 married men and 19,000 other men, and 16,000 women who are not heads of families (Table V). The high estimate of 98,000

TABLE V. LOW AND HIGH ESTIMATES<sup>1</sup> OF NUMBER OF AVAILABLE<sup>2</sup> WORKERS AGED 15-59 IN THE RURAL-FARM POPULATION BY SEX AND FAMILY STATUS; 33 COUNTIES IN EASTERN KENTUCKY, DECEMBER 1, 1942

Sex and family status	Low	High
TOTAL: Men and women	63,000	98,000
Men: Total	47,000	56,000
Heads of households	28,000	31,000
Other men	19,000	25,000
Women: Total	16,000	42,000
Heads, no children under 10	0	2,000
Wives, no children under 10	0	17,000
Other women	16,000	23,000

<sup>1</sup> Estimates were computed by extension of ratios for five selected magisterial districts to the five respective groups of counties and for the 33 counties were rounded to the nearest thousand.

<sup>2</sup> Excludes workers classified as productively employed at time of survey.



available workers also includes 17,000 wives with no children under 10 and some others—especially school age youths—not included in the low figure.

For each person aged 14 and over listed in the interview with neighborhood informants, any obstacles were recorded which might stand in the way of taking a job contributing more to the war effort than the present one or which might prevent entering the labor force should there be need or opportunity.<sup>10</sup>

In addition to being productively employed currently at a farm or non-farm job, the reported obstacles included old age, youth, school attendance, physical or mental disabilities, and attitudes. It was assumed that all housewives, housekeepers, and female heads of families should be considered as having obstacles which would hinder their leaving for work opportunities.

Among men under 60 who were heads of families, those with no reported obstacles to taking another job ranged from 34 per cent in the Carter County district, where many of the men are now employed at war jobs, to 62 per cent in the Owsley district. In each district more of the men who were not family heads had no obstacles reported, the proportions

ranging from 48 per cent in the Martin County district to 77 per cent in the Clinton County district. For single women, those with no obstacles varied from the 43 per cent in the Martin district to the 66 per cent in the Clinton district. The low estimate of available workers was based upon these ratios of persons for whom no obstacles were reported.<sup>11</sup> (Table V).

The high estimate of available workers was based upon a second classification of persons 14 years of age and over, made by field enumerators, which assumed that some of the reported obstacles were of such a nature that they might potentially be overcome if not reported to be mental or serious physical handicaps. Thus a 15 or 16 year old boy whose youth or attendance in school was reported as an obstacle by the neighborhood informant might be rated by the interviewer as available for certain types of work during a part of the year. Or a man with aged dependent parents standing in the way of his leaving for work elsewhere might be assumed to be able to make some arrangements for their care during his absence.

The effect of this second classification was to increase the proportion of workers considered to be potentially available. For men under 60 who were heads of families, those potentially available if certain obstacles could be overcome ranged from 40

<sup>10</sup> Persons aged 14 were included in the labor force by the 1940 U. S. Census but were excluded in this study because Census reports do not specify the number of persons this age in the rural-farm population by minor civil divisions or by counties. It would therefore be difficult to accurately estimate the change in numbers since April 1, 1940 and to project the survey data to estimate the number of 14 year olds remaining in Eastern Kentucky.

<sup>11</sup> Availability ratios based upon information provided by neighborhood informants are in close agreement with ratios based upon individual interviews in the same magisterial districts for the farm management study made concurrently by James C. Downing and John H. Bondurant.

per cent in the Carter County district to between 73 and 74 per cent in the Owsley and Clinton County districts. For men not family heads, the corresponding percentages ranged from 73 in Leslie to 89 in Clinton while for single women the variation was from 77 per cent in the Carter, Leslie and Clinton districts to 85 per cent in the Martin district. In arriving at the high estimate of the manpower reserve, wives aged 15-59 without children under 10 years of age were also assumed to be available. This latter assumption also applied to women who were heads of families.<sup>12</sup>

Despite the heavy out-migration and increased employment opportunities locally since 1940, the estimate of the manpower reserve in Eastern Kentucky based upon Census data was more conservative than the estimate based upon the field survey data. Potentially available farm families were estimated to number 21,800 on the basis of 1940 Census returns as compared with the low estimate of 28,000 and the high estimate of 32,000 men who are heads of farm families and available as of December, 1942. Apparently the 1940 Census data were still useful to arrive at approximations of the manpower reserve at the close of 1942 on farms in areas which were generally comparable to Eastern Kentucky with respect to migration and local employ-

ment trends during the past two years and eight months. They were certainly still useful as a basis for delineating areas offering the maximum possibilities for recruiting war workers. (Figure 1.)

*Family Status, Sex, and Age of Available Workers*—Heads of families comprised 44 per cent of the available workers in the low estimate and heads and wives together made up 52 per cent of the high estimate. It is clear that a large part of the labor reserve yet untapped will be most readily available in family groups.

Although men outnumber women in both estimates, women comprise only 25 per cent of the low as compared with 43 per cent of the high figure. The higher percentage is accounted for by the inclusion of wives and female family heads without children under 10 years of age.

Available men with families were predominantly a young and middle-aged group. Among those for whom no obstacles were reported, the proportion aged 20 to 44 ranged from 69 per cent in the Clinton to 80 per cent in the Carter district. Nearly all of the remaining men with families were aged 45 to 59. Close to two-thirds of the available married men were aged 18 to 37, the age group most subject to military service. Both the single men and the single women with no obstacles reported to taking a war job were predominantly a youthful group, the majority being under 20 years of age and nearly all the remainder being under 45.

The age composition of the high

<sup>12</sup> The percentages of wives aged 15-59 with no children under 10 were 28, 30, 21, 21, and 40 in the Carter, Clinton, Leslie, Martin, and Owsley County districts respectively. Corresponding percentages for women who were heads of families were 71, 40, 31, 33, and 44.

estimate, including workers with potentialities for overcoming their reported obstacles, differed chiefly from the low estimate in having a considerably larger proportion of 15 year old workers and a slightly larger percentage of persons over 45 among both single men and women. This age difference serves to emphasize the fact that a considerable number of the workers included in the high estimate will not be available for year round work unless they remain out of school; they are primarily potential candidates for seasonal farm work.

*Barriers to the Emigration of Available Workers*—How many of the workers classified as available for more productive jobs in behalf of the nation's war effort will actually shift to such jobs will be influenced by such factors as the attitudes of the potential workers toward their present way of life and toward the new way of life which a job change would involve, the development of public policies and public opinion designed to force workers into war jobs, selective service policies with respect to workers now in agriculture, the effectiveness of labor recruiting programs, the willingness of employers to draw upon the labor reserve of Eastern Kentucky, and the capacity of these potential workers to do the required tasks.

How many will leave the area will be affected by the relative need for workers within and outside of Eastern Kentucky and the comparative advantages of alternative employment opportunities. How many will

enter agricultural rather than industrial work depends in part on the characteristics and attitudes of the individual worker, in part upon the development of public measures designed to direct workers into specific occupations. Seasonal agricultural workers apparently could be recruited in rather large numbers from among those available only a part of the year because of school attendance or work on their own farms. As far as year round full time work was concerned, however, comments made to the field enumerators indicated more interest in entering industrial than agricultural work. Higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions in industry and the loss of status involved in becoming a farm laborer appeared to be back of the preferences for industrial work on the part of these farm people.

How many of the available married men will leave with their families will be dependent upon such factors as property ties, size of family, availability of desired housing for the family at the place of employment, cost of moving the family, cost of living on purchased rather than home-produced food, and the worker's estimate of how long the job will last. Temporary jobs can be taken by husbands and fathers who board away from home but if jobs were permanent, the supply of married men would likely prove to be unstable if away from their families.

Of the 28,000 available married men included in the low estimate, at least one in three would have to make arrangements for disposition of the

farms which they owned and operated. Others undoubtedly own land but the proportion is not known since their present major occupation was other than farm owner. Many of the men with land might do as some of their neighbors have already done, namely, leave the farm to be operated by the wife and children. Or they might lease, sell, or even abandon it. Field workers observed that renters and croppers seemed to be more interested in war jobs than were owners, while some owners commented they would like to leave with their families for work which would contribute more to winning the war if they could make satisfactory arrangements for care of their land and buildings during their absence.

About 16,000 of the 28,000 married men were heads of families of five or more persons and might therefore face special problems of transportation cost and of finding housing, were they to move. Some 5,000 of the available married men have both land and large families and 20,000 have either land or family ties or both which might serve as a barrier to leaving their present homes.

It is evident that limited education would handicap many of the available workers for some types of employment and might impede their adjustment in new situations. In the counties containing the five magisterial districts, the percentage of the rural-farm population 25 years of age and over who had completed more than eight grades of school ranged only from 6 per cent in Martin to 11 per

cent in Owsley County, at the time of the 1940 U. S. Census. The median years of school completed ranged from 5.1 in Martin to 7.2 in Clinton County.

The farm work skills of persons in the surveyed districts did not generally include operation of the more complicated farm machinery. In none of the five districts were more than 40 per cent of the men aged 15 to 59 reported to have driven automobiles and in the Leslie district only 14 per cent were reported as knowing how to drive. The number of men who had operated tractors was negligible. Lack of experience with the more complicated farming equipment is indicated by several indices of the state of agricultural technology in Eastern Kentucky. In large parts of the area more than 30 per cent of the small grain harvested in 1939 was cradled.<sup>13</sup> Only slightly more than a bushel of corn is produced per man-day of labor on hillside fields.<sup>14</sup> In the five magisterial districts, 1940 U. S. Census data showed an average value of implements and machinery ranging from \$13 in Leslie to \$131 in Clinton per farm reporting. The small scale of operations to which these farm people are accustomed is further shown by Census figures showing that in the five selected districts the corn harvested in 1939 averaged only between 42 and 165 bushels per farm, cropland harvested

<sup>13</sup> See Figure 37 in R. G. Hainsworth, O. E. Baker, and A. P. Brodell, *Seedtime and Harvest Today*, USDA, Misc. Pub. 485 (Washington, D. C., August, 1942).

<sup>14</sup> See Table 5 in Nicholls, Bondurant, and Galloway, *op. cit.*



ranged from five to 20 acres per farm, from 44 to 68 per cent of the farms reported workstock, and the average number of cows milked was between one and 1.6.

All these facts add up to show these available workers face rather drastic adjustments if they do enter war jobs in either agriculture or industry.

## A Short Form of The Farm Family Socioeconomic Status Scale\*

By William H. Sewell†

### ABSTRACT

Since the publication of the Farm Family Socioeconomic Status Scale there has been considerable demand for a still briefer instrument for measuring the socioeconomic status of farm families. The writer has attempted to satisfy this need by constructing a scale including fourteen of the most easily obtainable items from the original scale. Item analysis proved that these items possess sharp diagnostic capacity in samples taken from Oklahoma, Kansas, and Louisiana farm populations. The validity of the short scale for the three sample areas was established in terms of the very close agreement between the measurement produced by it and that of the original scale. The reliability tests, likewise, proved satisfactory. Tentative norms were constructed for the sample groups. After considering its advantages and limitations, it was decided that the short form of the scale produces satisfactory results and may be employed in studies where time and space limitations make the use of the longer original form seem inadvisable.

### RESUMEN

Desde la publicación de La Escala del Status Socioeconómico de la Familia Rural, ha habido una gran demanda por un método aún más breve para medir el status socioeconómico de las familias campesinas. El autor ha tratado de suplir esa necesidad mediante la elaboración de una escala que incluye catorce de los datos más fácilmente obtenibles de los contenidos en la escala original. El análisis de cada uno de los datos incluidos en esta breve escala ha demostrado que ellos permiten hacer un diagnóstico certero en las muestras obtenidas entre la población rural de los estados de Oklahoma, Kansas y Luisiana. La exactitud de la breve escala se comprobó por la concordancia observada entre los resultados obtenidos mediante su uso y los arrojados por la escala original en las áreas-muestras escogidas. Las pruebas de precisión, asimismo, resultaron satisfactorias. Fueron elaborados tipos de ensayo para los grupos escogidos como muestras. Después de considerar sus ventajas y limitaciones, se llegó a la conclusión de que la forma reducida de la escala da resultados satisfactorios y puede, por lo tanto, ser empleada en estudios cuando, por limitaciones de tiempo y de espacio, el uso de la escala original parezca inconveniente.

### Introduction

Despite the fact that the original Farm Family Socioeconomic Status

Scale can be administered on the average in less than ten minutes, there has been considerable demand

\* This paper is published as a contribution of the Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station.

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from research workers for a still shorter form which would produce a reasonably satisfactory measurement.<sup>1</sup> Doubtless, in many studies this is a pressing need, especially when the primary purpose of the research is not to study socioeconomic status but other phenomena which may be related directly or indirectly to status. A shorter form would also prove valuable in investigations where limitations in time and funds prevent the use of the original scale. Already several investigators have attempted to meet this need by arbitrarily choosing certain items from the longer scale and using them in place of it. Since this practice, if continued, would lead to many different forms of the scale and hence to much confusion in reporting results, the writer has attempted to produce a short form which will meet the needs of those who for one reason or another find it inadvisable to employ the original scale. The results of this effort are reported in this paper.

In the construction of the short form of the scale, four requirements have been kept in mind. First, the short scale should consist of items which not only may be ascertained easily and with accuracy but which possess sharp diagnostic capacity at

differing levels of socioeconomic status and in varying culture areas. Second, the short scale should produce a valid rating which will be essentially the same as that obtained by the use of the original scale. Third, the reliability of the short scale should be sufficiently great that the scale can be used with confidence. Fourth, norms should be constructed which will make possible the comparison of scores on the short scale with established standards.

### The Selection of Items

In considering items for inclusion in the short form of the scale, only those which field experience had shown to be the most easily and accurately obtainable were selected for testing. While actual use of the original scale had shown that none of the original items caused trouble to well trained workers, less experienced interviewers found certain items more difficult than others to enumerate. This was especially true of those items dealing with specific rooms and the equipment found in them. Here the difficulty seemed to be in the determination of which room should be called the living room. Even though clear-cut directions were prepared concerning this point, it still caused some difficulty. The participation items also proved to be troublesome in some cases because of the confusion in the minds of some about the distinction between membership and attendance. In some cases, the items relating to books and magazines were relatively difficult to answer objectively, and the

<sup>1</sup> For a complete discussion of the original scale see William H. Sewell, *The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of the Socioeconomic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families*, Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station, Technical Bulletin No. 9 (Stillwater, Oklahoma, April, 1940). A brief discussion is given in "A Scale for the Measurement of Farm Family Socioeconomic Status," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, XXI (1940), 125-137.

questions on insurance gave some trouble. On the other hand, the fourteen remaining questions, which deal mainly with household equipment, housing, education, and church and Sunday School attendance, seldom caused difficulties. Therefore, it was decided that these items might serve as a basic core for further statistical analysis. (For these items see Table 1).

In the construction of the original scale, for use on the Oklahoma population, only those items were retained which proved to have superior capacity to differentiate between successive as well as extreme socioeconomic status groups.<sup>2</sup> Since all of the fourteen items in the short form of the scale were selected from the original group, no particular concern need

be manifested about their ability to differentiate in the Oklahoma population. However, question may be legitimately raised concerning their validity for other populations. To partially answer this question, the items were re-analyzed for two sample groups taken from Kansas and Louisiana. The Kansas sample consisted of 454 schedules which were available from a cooperative survey carried out by the committee on research of the Mid-West Sociological Society.<sup>3</sup> The Louisiana sample

<sup>2</sup> This is an unusually high standard and has the effect of insuring that the scale will differentiate sharply between varying levels of status. The usual standard is that retained items should differentiate between extreme groups. A complete description of the technique and standards used in the study is given in the bulletin, William H. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-42.

TABLE I. RESULTS OF ITEM ANALYSIS

Item	Oklahoma (1062 cases)		Kansas (454 cases)		Louisiana (648 cases)	
	Percent possess- ing item	Signif- icant quar- tile differ- entia- tions	Percent possess- ing item	Signif- icant quar- tile differ- entia- tions	Percent possess- ing item	Signif- icant quar- tile differ- entia- tions
*Construction of house	48.0	4	76.1	4	32.4	4
*Room-person ratio	51.4	4	69.2	4	70.0	4
*Lighting facilities	25.4	4	54.0	4	23.0	4
Water piped into house	6.2	4	33.0	4	7.6	3
Power washer	26.2	4	69.0	4	13.0	3
*Refrigerator	39.7	4	55.6	4	56.1	4
Radio	46.1	4	78.8	4	56.3	4
Telephone	23.8	4	58.0	4	8.1	3
Automobile	62.9	4	93.5	1	37.6	4
Daily newspaper	42.7	4	72.1	4	58.1	4
*Wife's education	57.8	4	74.3	4	66.5	4
*Husband's education	48.1	4	74.3	4	51.4	4
Husband attends church or S.S.	65.2	4	70.3	3	76.8	4
Wife attends church or S.S.	73.1	4	81.0	4	80.4	4

\* For descriptions of the standards for possession of these multiple choice items see the bulletin, William H. Sewell, *Op. cit.*, pp. 62-66.

was made up of 648 schedules resulting from a cooperative survey made by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Department of Rural Sociology of the Louisiana State University.

The item analysis was made using the criterion of internal consistency technique and consisted of the following steps: (1) the schedules for each of the sample groups were divided into quartiles on the basis of total scale scores, (2) the percentage of occurrence in each of the quartiles was computed for each item, (3) the differences between the percentage of occurrence in each of the successive and the extreme quartiles and the standard errors of these differences were determined, and, (4) the significance of the differences, expressed in critical ratios, were computed.<sup>4</sup> A summary of the results of this analysis is given in Table I which shows only the number of significant differences for each item and the percentage of families in each sample possessing the various items. For purposes of comparison the same data are given for the Oklahoma sample.

The table shows for the Kansas sample that twelve of the items dif-

ferentiate significantly at every level, one at three levels, and one only between the extreme quartiles. For the Louisiana sample, eleven items differentiate significantly at all levels and three at three levels. Of course, in the Oklahoma sample, all items differentiate significantly in every possible comparison. Furthermore, all items differentiate between the extreme quartiles in each of the samples. These results indicate that all of the items but one meet the requirement stated earlier for item selection, i.e., that the retained items should possess sharp diagnostic capacity at varying levels of socioeconomic status in varying culture areas. The only exception is the item "automobile" which differentiated only in the extreme comparison for the Kansas sample. However, this item differentiated at all levels in both of the other areas and its retention in the scale is permissible because it probably will have sharp diagnostic capacity in most areas.

Since the items proved to be valid differentiators of socioeconomic status in each of the sample groups, they were combined into a scale for further testing. This form of the scale is shown on p. 166. It consists of six items from the fifteen in the original scale which were classified as material possessions, six from the original group of thirteen cultural possession items, and two from the original eight social participation questions.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the major com-

<sup>4</sup> The following persons participated in this study: C. D. Clark, W. D. Moreland, Harriet Higby, J. O. Hertzler, R. B. Tozier, S. Garvin, F. H. Forsyth, and Stuart A. Queen, Chairman of the Committee.

<sup>5</sup> When the term *significant* is used it means that the critical ratios equal or exceed the five percent level of significance. For a discussion of significance, see R. A. Fisher, *Statistical Methods for Research Workers* (5th edition; London: 1934), pp. 112-129.

<sup>5</sup> Actually, both of the social participation items combine church and Sunday school attendance and, therefore, represent four of the original group.



ponents of socioeconomic status as originally defined are represented roughly in the same proportions as in the original form of the scale.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, if this short form of the scale can stand the tests of validity and reliability which are demanded of a standardized scale, it may be accepted as a substitute for the original scale.

### Validity

The only test made of the validity of the short form of the scale was that of determining the correlation between the ratings produced by it and those produced by the original scale.<sup>7</sup> Since the validity of the original scale for the Oklahoma population had been established by extensive testing and was clearly indicated for the Kansas and Louisiana samples by somewhat less extensive tests, it may be said that the short scale is valid for these groups if it produces essentially the same results as the original scale.<sup>8</sup> To determine this, the schedules for the three sample groups were re-scored by adding the weights on the fourteen items. This new score was then correlated with the original score for each of the families in each of the separate samples. The results were as

follows: Oklahoma + .94, Kansas + .95, and Louisiana + .95. From these coefficients, all of which are highly significant, it may be seen that the short scale produces a measurement which agrees essentially with that produced by the longer scale.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, it may be considered valid, at least insofar as the original scale was valid for these groups.<sup>10</sup>

### Reliability

The only test made of the ability of the short scale to produce a consistent measurement was the split-half reliability test.<sup>11</sup> This was done by correlating the scores obtained by dividing the scale into equal halves, one consisting of the odd-numbered items and the other of the even-numbered items. The resulting corrected coefficients for the three sample groups were as follows: Oklahoma + .81, Louisiana + .81, Kansas + .87. Since the usual standard for reliability coefficients produced by this technique is + .80, these coefficients indicate

<sup>9</sup> The coefficients were tested using Fisher's test for correlation coefficients as given by G. W. Snedecor, *Statistical Methods* (revised edition; Ames, Iowa, 1938); Table 2, p. 133.

<sup>10</sup> Some readers will raise the question of whether anything fundamental to the measurement has been lost by the elimination of the remaining items. While it cannot be answered adequately at this point, it is interesting to find that there is a high correlation between the fourteen items retained and the twenty-two items which were omitted. For the three samples the coefficients were as follows: Oklahoma + .79, Kansas + .81, Louisiana + .77. This indicates that the loss probably was not great.

<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of other tests of reliability, see the writer's "The Development of a Sociometric Scale," *Sociometry*, V (August, 1942), 293-294.

<sup>6</sup> For the definition and the classification of the items see the bulletin, William H. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 42-45.

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion of validity testing, see the writer's "The Development of a Sociometric Scale," *Sociometry*, V (August, 1942), 290-293.

<sup>8</sup> For the Oklahoma sample the evidence is given in the bulletin, William H. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-49. The validity tests for the Kansas and Louisiana samples are given in the writer's "The Restandardization of a Sociometric Scale," *Social Forces*, XXI (March, 1943), 303-306.

that the scale produces sufficiently consistent results that it may be used with confidence.<sup>12</sup> However, it must be pointed out that other tests of

reliability should be made before a more conclusive generalization may be given. The short scale is not as reliable as the original scale, but this is a sacrifice which is inevitable since the reliability of a scale is partially a function of its length.

<sup>12</sup> Reliability coefficients for the scale obtained by other techniques agree closely with those gained by the split-half technique. See the bulletin, William H. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.

### FARM FAMILY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS SCALE

#### (SHORT FORM)

Score	Scale Items				
.....	1. Construction of house: Brick, stucco, etc., or painted frame                      Unpainted frame or other				
	Score:                      (5)		(3)		
.....	2. Room-person ratio: Number of rooms ..... ÷ Number of persons..... = .....				
	Ratio: Below 1.00                      1.00-1.99                      2.00 and up				
	Score:                      (3)                      (5)                      (7)				
.....	3. Lighting facilities: Electric                      Gas, mantle, or pressure                      Oil lamps, other or none				
	Score:                      (8)                      (6)		(3)		
.....	4. Water piped into house?                      Y (8)                      N (4)				
.....	5. Power washer?                      Y (6)                      N (3)				
.....	6. Refrigerator: Mechanical                      Ice                      Other or none				
	Score:                      (8)                      (6)		(3)		
.....	7. Radio?                      Y (6)                      N (3)				
.....	8. Telephone?                      Y (6)                      N (3)				
.....	9. Automobile? (Other than truck)                      Y (5)                      N (2)				
.....	10. Family takes daily newspaper?                      Y (6)                      N (3)				
.....	11. Wife's education: Grades completed: 0-7                      8                      9-11                      12                      13 and up				
	Score:                      (2)                      (4)                      (6)                      (7)                      (8)				
.....	12. Husband's education: Grades completed: 0-7                      8                      9-11                      12                      13 and up				
	Score:                      (3)                      (5)                      (6)                      (7)                      (8)				
.....	13. Husband attends church or Sunday school? (¼ of meetings)                      Y (5)                      N (2)				
.....	14. Wife attends church or Sunday school? (¼ of meetings)                      Y (5)                      N (2)				
.....	Scale Score				

### Norms

Norms for a sociometric scale usually become accepted only after considerable evidence and experience have been accumulated with the instrument in many varying situations. Since the data on the short form of the Scale are quite limited, only tentative norms may be offered at this time. These include mean scores for various tenure groups and raw scores for selected percentile ranks in the Oklahoma, Kansas, and Louisiana samples. The Oklahoma norms are doubtless the most reliable of the three sets because they were based on 1000 cases carefully selected to represent the rural farm population of the State. The Kansas and Louisiana norms must be considered as quite tentative since they were based on much less strict sampling procedures.<sup>13</sup> However, they should be useful for rough comparative purposes and are presented with this limitation in mind.

<sup>13</sup> A more detailed discussion of norms, as well as several types of norms based on the original form of the scale, is given in the author's "The Development of a Sociometric Scale," *Sociometry*, V (August, 1942), 294-297. Norms for the original scale for the Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Kansas samples are given in the writer's "The Restandardization of a Sociometric Scale," *Social Forces*, XXI (March, 1943), 310.

Table II gives the means and standard errors of the various tenure groups for the three sample populations. By reference to this table comparisons between obtained means may be made with these well known groups to gain a rough idea of the position occupied by a given family or group.<sup>14</sup> The percentile norms are shown in Table III. The percentile rank of a given raw score in any of the three standard groups may be determined by reference to this table. It will be noted that the Oklahoma and Louisiana norms tend to be approximately similar while the Kansas norms are much higher than those for the other two states. Similar norms would be still higher for some other states. However, in many studies, comparisons with these well known groups will prove valuable in that they will provide a general idea of the level of the groups being studied.

### Advantages and Limitations of the Short Form

The short form of the scale may be said to have certain advantages over

<sup>14</sup> The differences between the means for the successive tenure levels are statistically significant in all comparisons. This indicates, further, the validity of the scale for these samples.

TABLE II. MEAN SCORES ON THE SHORT SCALE FOR VARIOUS TENURE GROUPS IN THE THREE SAMPLES

Tenure Status	Oklahoma		Louisiana		Kansas	
	Mean	S.E.	Mean	S.E.	Mean	S.E.
Owner	61.4	0.5	61.5	0.5	71.8	0.7
Tenant	54.9	0.5	53.7	0.7	65.8	0.9
Cropper	...	..	50.9	0.8	...	..
Laborer	50.0	1.0	47.1	1.1	60.4	1.7

TABLE III. RAW SCORES ON THE SHORT SCALE ACCORDING TO SELECTED PERCENTILE RANKS FOR THE THREE SAMPLES

Percentile rank	Raw scores			Percentile rank	Raw scores		
	Oklahoma sample	Louisiana sample	Kansas sample		Oklahoma sample	Louisiana sample	Kansas sample
1	41	39	49	50	59	57	68
5	45	44	52	55	60	58	71
10	46	46	54	60	62	59	73
15	48	48	57	65	63	61	75
20	50	49	58	70	64	62	77
25	51	51	60	75	66	64	79
30	53	52	61	80	69	67	80
35	54	53	63	85	73	70	83
40	56	54	65	90	76	74	86
45	57	55	67	95	81	79	89
				99	87	85	91

the original form. First, the fact that it is composed of only fourteen items means that it may be administered in less time and will take less space on a schedule than the original form. Experience has shown that a family can be rated on the average in about five minutes. This will mean that it can be employed in studies where time and schedule space are important considerations. Moreover, it appears that the short form will produce a reasonably valid and reliable measurement of socioeconomic status even though it may be less dependable than that produced by the longer scale.

Second, the fact that the short form is based on items which field experience has shown are most readily and accurately obtainable should make it easier for relatively less well trained interviewers to administer with accuracy. In some investigations, this will doubtless be an important consideration.

Third, the questions in the short scale are all of the type that may be

answered accurately without gaining entry into the residence of the family being rated. This will be a marked advantage in some studies where interviews are held in other places than the house. Further, since the answers to the simple questions composing the scale are likely to be known by all members of the family, the questions can be so formulated that they can be answered by school children and others away from home.<sup>14</sup> In many studies this will be a distinct advantage.

While the brevity of the short form of the scale doubtless is its greatest advantage over the original scale, it must be pointed out that it is at the same time its greatest disadvantage. In the first place, the instability of any one item is likely to reduce the reliability of the scale greatly. This is not so true in the case of the longer scale where the chances are greater

<sup>14</sup>The writer has prepared such a form and will be glad to furnish it free to anyone interested in it.



that a change in one item will be offset by a change in the opposite direction in another item.

Second, the contribution of any one item to the measurement produced by the short scale is relatively much greater than in the original form, and therefore if an item loses its validity or changes its significance the validity of the short scale may be affected greatly.

Third, since there are fewer items in the short form there is greater danger that this form will fail to measure the extremes of socioeconomic status than in the case of the original scale. To illustrate the point, in the total group of families in the three samples scored on both scales only six made the lowest possible score on the original scale in comparison with fifteen on the short form; at the other extreme, no family made the highest possible score on the original scale while six reached this score on the short form. From this it can be seen that the longer form is quite superior in differentiating at the extreme status levels.

### Conclusion

From the analysis presented in this paper it may be concluded that the short form of the Farm Family Socioeconomic Status Scale will produce an easily obtainable, objective, valid and reliable measurement of socioeconomic status. However, this measurement may be somewhat less reliable and valid than that produced by the longer scale. While the short form will need to be tested out in many field situations before more

conclusive generalizations may be offered, it appears that it will prove useful in studies where the use of the longer original form seems inadvisable.

### DISCUSSION

By GENEVIEVE KNUFFER and  
ROBERT K. MERTON\*

This paper presents a short form of the author's Farm Family Socioeconomic Status Scale. A single question is posed: do the two forms give approximately the same results? The original 36 items were reduced to 14 and the correlation between scores on the long and the short form was  $+ .95$ . It is evident, therefore, that they do. Any criticism of this paper as far as concepts of measurement or of socio-economic status are concerned must be directed rather towards the original scale than towards the short form since the purpose of the latter is simply to reproduce the former more efficiently.

The criterion for selection of items was the ease of ascertaining them in practice; that is, those items were eliminated which, on rather loose intuitive grounds, seemed relatively difficult to ascertain. Apparently, the aim was to reduce the errors and difficulty of observation.

If these fourteen items are the maximum number of reliable items, are they also the minimum number of items necessary to correlate with the long form? Perhaps very little would be lost if we eliminated another five or six of them.

If we started with the original 36

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and tried to find the smallest possible number of them which would yield a correlation of  $+ .95$  with the original scale, a different procedure would be indicated. In either case, the mathematical techniques of partial correlation and of factor analysis would be in order as the only way of arriving at a correct answer to the question of predicting the total score from the least possible number of items. The not altogether pointless objection may be raised, however, that this would be too elaborate and laborious to be worthwhile since such good results were obtained by simpler methods.

### Rejoinder

I have two comments to make which should help clarify points raised by Knupfer and Merton concerning my paper. First, it is true that there are better techniques than those I used for predicting the total score with the smallest possible number of items; however, it must be remembered that this is only one phase of the problem. Another equally important phase is that of pro-

ducing a reliable scale, i.e., one which measures with consistency. Since reliability is usually lost when the number of items is reduced, brevity must be sacrificed at some point for reliability. Therefore, the search is not for the shortest *valid* scale (valid in this case in that the short scale gives an acceptable prediction of the score produced by the original scale) but rather for the shortest *valid* scale which will produce *reliable* results. In fact, in the preliminary work on this problem, shorter valid scales were constructed but none came up to the minimum standards usually set for reliability. Still another aspect of the problem is to retain the valid items which can be most easily observed in an objective fashion. This further precluded the use of the techniques they suggest.

The second comment is that the items were not eliminated on "loose intuitive grounds" as is alleged but rather on the basis of extensive field observations. Certainly, a careful reading of the paper should have made this clear.

WILLIAM H. SEWELL.

# Development of A 1940 Rural-Farm Level of Living Index for Counties

By Margaret Jarman Hagood\*

## ABSTRACT

From a preliminary list of 14 suggested components, 5 have been selected for a 1940 rural-farm level of living index: (1) adequacy of housing space, (2) radios, (3) farm income, (4) late model automobiles, (5) schooling completed. One basis of selection was the weights each component received on four preliminary indexes constructed by component techniques for the following groups of counties: North Carolina, Iowa, these two states combined, and a sample of 200 counties of the United States. Components were selected which generally had high positive weights for all four indexes. Another basis of selection was the degree of intercorrelation of components. To avoid duplication, only one component was selected from any group of two or more highly intercorrelated components. Correlations between the final and the preliminary indexes indicate that no great loss in differentiating capacity is incurred by reducing the number of components and by using weights derived from the national sample of counties.

## RESUMEN

De una lista preliminar de 14 componentes propuestos, 5 han sido seleccionados para un índice del nivel de la vida rural-agrícola en 1940: (1) La vivienda adecuada, (2) Los aparatos radioreceptores, (3) Los ingresos, (4) Los automóviles de modelo reciente, (5) Los estudios completados. Una de las bases de la selección consistió en el peso relativo que cada componente recibió en cuatro índices preliminares contruidos por la técnica de componentes para los siguientes grupos de condados: Carolina del Norte, Iowa, estos dos estados combinados, y una muestra de 200 condados de los Estados Unidos. Se seleccionaron los componentes que en general tenían pesos positivos altos en todos los cuatro índices. Otra base de selección fué el grado de intercorrelación de los componentes. Para evitar duplicación, se escogió solamente un componente de cada grupo de dos o más componentes con un alto grado de intercorrelación. Las correlaciones entre el índice final y los preliminares indican que no ocurrió gran pérdida de capacidad de diferenciación al reducir el número de componentes y al usar los pesos derivados de la muestra nacional de condados.

The utility of level of living indexes for counties of the United States has been amply demonstrated by the wide use of several county indexes constructed on the basis of 1930 Census and other data. Especially in the analysis of relationships of economic with other factors, such as migration, education, fertility, etc., when counties comprise the unit of observation, and in the problem of subregional delineation have

level of living indexes been valuable.<sup>1</sup> With much of the 1940 Census data on population, housing, and agriculture now available by counties, it seems advisable to develop new county indexes based on more nearly current data and constructed by more

<sup>1</sup> For example, Carter Goodrich et al., *Migration and Planes of Living, 1920-1934*, Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935; C. E. Lively and Conrad Taeuber, *Rural Migration in the United States*, WPA Research Monograph XIX, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939; A. R. Mangus, *Rural Regions of the United States*, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1940.

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recently developed methods. This paper presents the results of some exploratory work leading to the development of a rural-farm level of living index.<sup>2</sup> A rural-nonfarm index will be similarly developed later and the two combined into a rural level of living index.

Limitations of level of living indexes for counties of the United States arise chiefly from two sources. The first is that the quantitative data uniformly available for counties by no means encompass the range of phenomena subsumed under the concept "level of living"—in fact, some of the phenomena are probably not quantifiable. The second is that characteristics for which data are available do not have a uniform relationship to level of living in the various regions and subregions of the country. With regard to the first limitation, we shall assume that the factors in "level of living" which are not measurable, or which have not been measured, are closely enough correlated with those for which we do have measures provided by Census data to permit the latter being used to form a valid index. With regard to the second limitation, we have attempted to determine which ones of a number of possible components seem to be most valid indicators of level of living in the several regions of the country and to develop an in-

dex from those components which are most uniformly valid.

For preliminary testing and weeding out of a group of components which seemed appropriate for a level of living index,<sup>3</sup> the counties of North Carolina and Iowa were used. For exploration of the relationships of the proposed components these two states seemed appropriate, since North Carolina counties have a mean rural-farm level of living below the national average and show great variation in the selected components, while Iowa counties have a mean rural-farm level of living much higher than the national average and

<sup>3</sup> These components were chosen primarily on the basis of their previous use in similar indexes and with the advice of Conrad Taeuber and C. Horace Hamilton. They are listed below with numbers by which they are identified in the accompanying tables. Data on all these components are available for counties from *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Population, Second Series State Bulletins; Housing, First and Second Series State Bulletins; Agriculture, First and Second Series State Bulletins.*

1. Percent of rural-farm occupied dwelling units with fewer than 1.51 persons per room
2. Percent of rural-farm dwelling units not in need of major repairs
3. Percent of rural-farm dwelling units with running water
4. Percent of rural-farm dwelling units with electric lights
5. Percent of rural-farm dwelling units with radios
6. Percent of farms with milk cows
7. Percent of farms with hogs and pigs
8. Percent of farms with chickens
9. Percent of farms with fruit trees
10. Percent of farms with vegetables grown for home use
11. Percent of farms with gross income of \$600 or more
12. Percent of farms reporting automobiles
13. Percent of farms reporting automobiles of 1936 or later models
14. Median year of school completed by rural-farm persons 25 years of age and over

<sup>2</sup> A project of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture. Special acknowledgment is due to Helen A. Robinson of the Division's staff for statistical assistance in this project.



are generally quite homogeneous with respect to the components. For each of these states an index was first developed by analysis of the intercorrelations of the proposed components for the counties of that state alone. Table I shows for North Carolina the intercorrelations of 13 proposed components<sup>4</sup> along with the resulting level of living index based on 11 components.<sup>5</sup>

It may be noted that component 7, relating to hogs and pigs, is generally negatively correlated with the other components. In the process of reflection, preliminary to analysis of the matrix, this component was changed in sign, indicating that it is negative-

<sup>4</sup> The preliminary work on North Carolina and Iowa had been completed before the component relating to education was suggested for inclusion.

ly related to the common factor (assumed to be level of living) which the others as a group measure best. Therefore, although the possession of hogs and pigs by a farm family is generally considered as a positive item in the level of living of that family, the component was eliminated from the index since the analysis indicated that in counties where greater percentages of farm families have

<sup>5</sup> The index weights for the standard measures (deviation of measure from the mean of the series expressed in standard deviation units) are proportional to the direction cosines of the measures with the principal component of the matrix. For a discussion of this method of index construction and for a computation guide for procedures, see Margaret Jarman Hagood, Nadia Danilevsky, and Corlin O. Beum, "An Examination of the Use of Factor Analysis in the Problem of Subregional Delineation," *Rural Sociology*, 6 (September 1941), pp. 216-233.

TABLE I. MATRIX OF INTERCORRELATIONS OF 13 COMPONENTS FOR A 1940 RURAL-FARM LEVEL OF LIVING INDEX, WITH RESULTING INDEX EQUATION BASED ON 11 COMPONENTS, 100 COUNTIES OF NORTH CAROLINA

Components <sup>1</sup>	Components <sup>1</sup>												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1													
2	.14												
3	.25	.41											
4	.47	.50	.56										
5	.67	.40	.49	.81									
6	.06	.32	.33	.36	.32								
7	-.10	-.43	-.71	-.42	-.34	-.56							
8	-.01	.04	-.36	.03	.04	.36	.28						
9	.01	.34	.41	.25	.14	.53	-.51	.06					
10	.06	.11	-.23	-.03	-.07	.27	.13	.58	.22				
11	-.03	-.23	.52	-.16	-.12	-.65	-.75	.09	-.68	.01			
12	.49	.10	-.02	.56	.55	-.07	-.03	.23	-.33	-.04	.50		
13	.53	.02	.14	.46	.52	-.28	.24	-.05	-.33	-.17	.46	.86	

Equation for standard measures:

$$I = .751z_1 + .483z_2 + .564z_3 + .980z_4 + 1.000z_5 + .290z_6 + \\ (\text{omit } z_7) + .035z_8 + .142z_9 - .055z_{10} + (\text{omit } z_{11}) + .788z_{12} + .757z_{13}$$

<sup>1</sup>For identification of components, footnote 3.

hogs and pigs, smaller percentages tend to have the majority of items here considered as indicative of level of living.

More difficult to understand is the predominantly negative relationship of component 11, percentage of farms having a gross income of \$600 or more, with the others. It is surprising that, in North Carolina, counties which have a greater percentage of farms with gross farm income of \$600 or more tend to have smaller percentages of houses in repair, with running water, with electric lights, with radios, and smaller percentages of farms with milk cows. A possible explanation is suggested by the high negative correlation ( $-.85$ ) between percentage of farms with gross income of \$600 or more and percentage of farms with operators reporting 100 days or more of off-farm work in 1939. In the counties where industrial employment opportunities provide considerable cash income to farm operators and other farm family members, the percentage of farm families possessing electric lights, radios, etc., is relatively high, even though the off-farm work may mean that the farm enterprise is kept to a modest level and the percentage of farms with gross income of \$600 or more is relatively low.

Still another component, number 10 relating to fruit trees, became reflected in the process of analysis, as is shown by the negative sign of its weight. It could well have been discarded at this stage, but since the other weights had been determined from the matrix with this component

included, and since the value of its weight was so small as to be negligible, it was retained in the index.

Weights for the 11 components retained are so scaled in the index equation shown at the bottom of the table that a weight of one is assigned to the component which this type of analysis indicates is the "best" measure for the common factor running through all of them. The percentage of rural-farm dwelling units with radios receives the heaviest weight, followed closely by the percentage with electric lights. Next in order of weights are the two components relating to automobiles, followed closely by the component indicating adequacy of housing space per person.

Comparison of a similar analysis of the same components for the counties of Iowa (Table II) reveals interesting similarities and differences. The most marked difference is with respect to component 11, gross farm income, which for Iowa not only measures in the direction one would naturally expect, but also receives the second highest weight, exceeded only by one of the components relating to automobiles. The other automobile component, radios, and electric lights get high weights, as they did for North Carolina. Possession of hogs and pigs receives a high positive weight in Iowa, whereas it measured negatively in North Carolina. Percentage of farms having fruit trees was indicated to be measuring negatively by the process of reflection and was not included in the index.

TABLE II. MATRIX OF INTERCORRELATIONS OF 13 COMPONENTS FOR A 1940 RURAL-FARM LEVEL OF LIVING INDEX, WITH RESULTING INDEX EQUATION BASED ON 12 COMPONENTS, 99 COUNTIES OF IOWA

Com- pon- ents <sup>1</sup>	Components <sup>1</sup>												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1													
2	-.11												
3	.36	.20											
4	.34	.04	.56										
5	.35	.07	.21	.78									
6	.31	.02	.04	.18	.46								
7	.45	-.01	.18	.32	.56	.86							
8	.37	-.03	.02	.11	.31	.88	.80						
9	.02	-.15	-.03	-.19	-.26	-.17	-.18	-.21					
10	.23	-.03	-.21	-.09	-.41	.39	.33	.39	.32				
11	.37	.03	.34	.54	.75	.76	.87	.68	-.31	.07			
12	.42	.07	.40	.98	.85	.71	.80	.63	-.35	.04	.93		
13	.27	.02	.42	.84	.85	.42	.56	.30	-.23	.04	.77	.80	

Equation for standard measures:

$$I = .466z_1 + .036z_2 + .372z_3 + .739z_4 + .802z_5 + .756z_6 + .847z_7 + .679z_8 + (\text{omit } z_9) + .111z_{10} + .934z_{11} + 1.000z_{12} + .813z_{13}$$

<sup>1</sup> For identification of components, see footnote 3.

Table III shows the results of a similar analysis for the counties of North Carolina and Iowa combined into a single series. While the analysis for North Carolina alone provided the basis for constructing an index with maximum differentiating capacity for diverse counties in the lower range of the scale of level of living, and the analysis for Iowa alone for homogeneous counties in the upper range of the scale, this analysis provides an index based on a distribution of counties covering a wider range of the scale than either of the previous ones, but with a concentration near the upper end. As in the case of North Carolina, radios receive the heaviest weight on this index for the states combined. Percentage of farms with late model

automobiles is second, with the component indicating adequacy of housing space next. Gross farm income has a weight more than 75 per cent as great as the highest weight, indicating that it differentiates satisfactorily over this expanded range, whereas it failed to do so in the lower range.

The results of the analysis for the two states combined suggested that it might be possible to identify certain components which would indicate level of living satisfactorily in all areas of the country. Hence a random sample was drawn of 200 counties, stratified by three major regions (North, South, and West), and a similar analysis made for the sample counties. Table IV contains the results of this analysis with relative

TABLE III. MATRIX OF INTERCORRELATIONS OF 13 COMPONENTS FOR A 1940 RURAL-FARM LEVEL OF LIVING INDEX, WITH RESULTING INDEX EQUATION BASED ON 11 COMPONENTS, 199 COUNTIES OF NORTH CAROLINA AND IOWA COMBINED

Com- pon- ents <sup>1</sup>	Components <sup>1</sup>												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1													
2	.52												
3	.65	.54											
4	.58	.48	.69										
5	.93	.59	.73	.69									
6	.61	.53	.55	.50	.70								
7	.62	.20	.32	.28	.64	.27							
8	.58	.36	.33	.36	.64	.65	.69						
9	-.37	-.10	-.16	-.18	-.39	-.02	-.56	-.29					
10	-.33	-.19	-.41	-.25	-.44	-.13	-.16	.05	-.39				
11	.61	.26	.35	.37	.66	.16	.88	.56	-.66	-.26			
12	.90	.52	-.64	.63	.94	.60	.69	.68	-.50	-.38	.79		
13	.84	.47	.70	.73	.92	.55	.75	.61	-.48	-.36	.77	.92	

Equation for standard measures:

$$I = .933z_1 + .589z_2 + .566z_3 + .713z_4 + 1.000z_5 + .684z_6 + .756z_7 + .733z_8 + (\text{omit } z_9) + (\text{omit } z_{10}) + .766z_{11} + .883z_{12} + .979z_{13}$$

<sup>1</sup> For identification of components, see footnote 3.

TABLE IV. MATRIX OF INTERCORRELATIONS OF 13 COMPONENTS FOR A 1940 RURAL-FARM LEVEL OF LIVING INDEX, WITH RESULTING INDEX EQUATION BASED ON 5 COMPONENTS, 200 SAMPLE COUNTIES OF THE UNITED STATES

Com- pon- ents <sup>1</sup>	Components <sup>1</sup>													
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	10	11	12	13	14	
1														
2	.32													
3	.47	.41												
4	.59	.39	.75											
5	.73	.29	.55	.68										
6	— .15	.00	.29	.14	— .24									
7	.13	.23	.59	.45	.33	.45								
8	.07	.21	.49	.38	.23	.62	.81							
10	— .02	.07	.32	.05	.25	.34	.55	.58						
11	.48	.30	.37	.36	.59	— .13	.00	.02	.24					
12	.67	.30	.44	.89	.84	— .30	.17	.04	.30	.74				
13	.48	.41	.57	.57	.68	— .09	.26	.18	.34	.73	.79			
14	.60	.16	.40	.39	.80	— .29	.22	.12	.28	.43	.66	.51		

Equation for standard measures:

$$I = .840z_1 + (\text{omit } z_2, z_3, z_4) + 1.000z_5 + (\text{omit } z_6, z_7, z_8, z_{10}) + .816z_{11} + (\text{omit } z_{12}) + .866z_{13} + .879z_{14}$$

<sup>1</sup> For identification of components, see footnote 3.



weights for the five components chosen, for reasons explained below, to be retained in the final index. Approximate weights for all components are given in Table V, along with a comparison of the weights obtained earlier. In the analysis for the 200 counties, which include western counties, chickens, hogs and pigs, vegetables, and milk cows all received negative weights, indicating their inappropriateness as components in a level of living index. Some of these are satisfactory for Iowa and North Carolina, but unsatisfactory for the sample including western counties.

On the basis of the comparisons of weights in Table V and the intercorrelations presented in earlier tables, a tentative selection has been made of five components for a rural-farm level of living index appropriate for counties in all regions of the country. The criteria of choice were as follows: (1) that components selected for the final index should have fairly high weights on the four indexes, with weights for the 200 sample counties and for the combined states given more consideration; (2) that components selected should not be so highly intercorrelated that they practically duplicated each other. Weights for the five components so selected are shown in the last column of Table V. High intercorrelations among running water, electric lights, and radios indicated that only one of this group should be selected. Since the weight for radios was consistently higher than that for electric lights or running water on all four indexes, the radio component was

chosen for inclusion on the final index. There was little reason for choice between the two highly intercorrelated components relating to automobiles, but percentage of farms with 1936 or later model automobiles was selected from the pair because its weights were nearly as high as those for the other automobile component, while its correlations with the other four final components were in each case lower than those of the other automobile component. Adequacy of space in housing, gross farm income, and median year of school completed were selected, as they were the only other components with (approximate) weights over .700 for the sample county index.

The index equation at the bottom of Table IV is useful for indicating the relative importance of each component in the index, but is not convenient for computation purposes, since its use involves transforming the percentages into deviations from the mean of each series and dividing each deviation by the standard deviation of the series. Because indexes are commonly expressed in relation to some base, which is given a value of 100, a transformation of the equation of Table IV has been made which has weights that may be applied directly to the indicated percentages for any county and which has a value of 100 for the United States as a whole. Coding constants are introduced into the transformation to fix the unit of the scale so that maximum value on each of the components

TABLE V. RELATIVE WEIGHTS FOR STANDARD MEASURES ON 14 COMPONENTS FOR A RURAL-FARM LEVEL OF LIVING INDEX

Component	Weights Determined by Intercorrelations of Components for:			
	100 counties of North Carolina	99 counties of Iowa	199 counties of North Carolina and Iowa combined	200 sample counties (first approximation) <sup>1</sup>
1. Percent of rural-farm occupied dwellings with fewer than 1.51 persons per room	.751	.466	.933	.776
2. Percent of rural-farm dwelling units not in need of major repairs	.483	.036	.589	.533
3. Percent of rural-farm dwelling units with running water	.564	.372	.566	.974
4. Percent of rural-farm dwelling units with electric lights	.979	.739	.713	.994
5. Percent of rural-farm dwelling units with radios	1.000	.802	1.000	1.000
6. Percent of farms with milk cows	.291	.756	.684	.192
7. Percent of farms with hogs and pigs	"	.847	.756	.761
8. Percent of farms with chickens	.035	.679	.733	.694
9. Percent of farms with fruit trees	.142	"	"	"
10. Percent of farms with vegetables grown for home use	.055	.111	"	.591
11. Percent of farms with gross income of \$600 or more	"	.934	.766	.741
12. Percent of farms reporting automobiles	.788	1.000	.883	.979
13. Percent of farms reporting automobiles of 1936 or later models	.757	.813	.979	.947
14. Median year of school completed by rural-farm persons 25 years old or over	"	"	"	.773
				.879

<sup>1</sup> First approximations are almost equivalent to weights determined by Thurstone's centroid solution.

<sup>2</sup> Not computed because process of reflection indicated the component was measuring in a direction opposite from that assumed in original selection of component.

<sup>3</sup> Process of reflection did not indicate the component was measuring in a direction opposite from that assumed, but process of analysis to determine weights did.

<sup>4</sup> Not computed because component had not been selected at time of construction of index.

<sup>5</sup> Not computed because evidence obtained in construction of preceding indexes had indicated this component is not satisfactory.

<sup>6</sup> Eliminated from final index for reasons explained in text.

yields an index value of 200.<sup>6</sup> The transformed equation is

$$L = .570 H + .356 R + .281 I + .496 A + 5.489 S - 36.3.$$

The index equation may be evaluated for any county by substituting the following values for the particular county, obtainable from the 1940 Census, with the percentages in each case based upon the number report-

ing, except for the automobile component.

H = Percent of occupied rural-farm dwelling units with fewer than 1.51 persons per room.

R = Percent of rural-farm dwelling units with radios.

I = Percent of farms with gross income of \$600 or more.

A = Percent of farms with automobiles of 1936 or later models.

S = Median year of school completed by rural-farm persons 25 years of age and over.

<sup>6</sup> Transformation of the equation given in Table 4, I, to one convenient for computation, L, is done as follows: first divide each weight, w, in I by the standard deviation of that series, s, obtaining weights which can be applied directly to the components as measured by the percentages, medians, etc. The results may be represented as follows:

$$I = \frac{w_1}{s_1} X_1 + \frac{w_2}{s_2} X_2 \dots + C,$$

where C is a constant that does not need to be evaluated (a function of the weights, standard deviations and means of the series).

Next transform I to I' by subtracting C from the right side,

$$I' = \frac{w_1}{s_1} X_1 + \frac{w_2}{s_2} X_2 + \dots + \frac{w_{14}}{s_{14}}.$$

Next let

$$L = a I' + b,$$

where a and b are to be determined so as to make L have a value of 100 when U. S mean values are substituted for the X's in I', and so as to make L have a value of 200 for the case of a county which has 100 percent of all the percentage items and a median of 12 years of school completed. Determination of a and b is accomplished by the solution of two simultaneous equations:

$$100 = a I' + b \text{ (with } I' \text{ evaluated by substitution of United States values for the } X_i\text{'s),}$$

$$200 = a I' + b \text{ (with } I' \text{ evaluated by substitution of 100 for each percentage component except that relating to median grade completed, and 12 for the latter).}$$

For the final index with five components, the several steps are as follows:

$$I = .840z_1 + 1.000z_2 + .816z_{11} + .866z_{12} + .879z_{14}$$

$$I' = .077X_1 + .048X_2 + .038X_{11} + .067X_{12} + .074X_{14}$$

$$L = 7.407I' - 36.3$$

$$L = .570H + .356R + .281I + .496A + 5.489S - 36.3.$$

In order to examine the degree to which the differentiating capacity of an index developed for a particular state is sacrificed by substituting an index based on considerably fewer components weighted according to relationships manifested by the sample of 200 counties from all parts of the United States, the correlation coefficients between some of the indexes developed were computed for the counties of North Carolina and Iowa. For the counties of North Carolina, the index based on the sample counties has a correlation of .78 with the index based on North Carolina counties alone, and of .81 with the index based on the counties of North Carolina and Iowa combined. For the counties of Iowa, the index based on the sample counties has a correlation of .91 with the index based on Iowa alone, and of .92 with the index based on the counties of North Carolina and Iowa combined. These coefficients indicate that for an analysis requir-

ing level of living index values only for counties within one state, there is some advantage in using an index developed solely on the basis of interrelationships of components for the counties of that state. On the other hand, the coefficients indicate that there is no great loss in differentiating capacity incurred by using an index with a greatly reduced number of components and with general applicability for all counties of the United States.

NOTE: The rural-farm index presented in this article has been submitted to a number of sociologists for criticism and suggestions. On the basis of suggestions received some modifications may be made in the index before it is evaluated for all counties of the United States. The rural-farm index which is finally adopted, together with the corresponding rural-nonfarm index and the composite rural index will be reported in *Notes* of an early issue of RURAL SOCIOLOGY.

## Economic Policy in Agriculture

(Some Historical, Psycho-Social, and Economic Considerations)

*By José Silva<sup>1</sup>*

### ABSTRACT

Economists who work in the field of agricultural economics must withdraw from their ivory towers and discard their armchairs. The world-wide agrarian movement which has resulted in the partitioning of large estates makes agricultural credit, cooperatives, extension work and crop insurance more necessary than ever before. However, in all these fields progress is impeded by cultural factors of a psycho-social nature. In overcoming these impediments the importance of the elementary teacher who lives among the rural people and has access to them through the children should not be overlooked.

### RESUMEN

Los economistas que trabajan en el campo de la economía agraria tienen que abandonar sus ideas abstractas. La reforma agraria en todo el mundo ha producido el fraccionamiento de los latifundios y causado una situación que exige más que nunca el crédito agrícola, las cooperativas, la propaganda educativa y los seguros agrícolas. Sin embargo, existen factores de naturaleza socio-psicológica que impiden el rápido desarrollo de esas actividades. Para vencer esos obstáculos los profesores en las escuelas del campo a través de los niños, pueden llegar hasta los adultos: su esfuerzo no debe ignorarse.

### Introduction

Agricultural credit is a very modern institution, for it can be said to date back not more than seventy years. According to our peculiar usage of the concept, agricultural

credit involves the loaning of money

<sup>1</sup> Editor's Note: Translated from the Spanish by Nellie H. Loomis, this article draws together conclusions of particular application to Mexico derived from Professor Silva's wide experience in both the applied and theoretical fields.



for the development of agricultural enterprises. However, from the concept of agricultural credit in the modern world we choose to exclude all that credit which involves mortgages.

It is evident that the origin and the development of this particular branch of credit with which we are concerned neither could exist nor had any reason for existing in periods of history during which the form of agricultural ownership from the legal and, more important, from the social point of view remained primitive. Briefly, then, it can be said that up to the middle ages land ownership in all countries was concentrated in a few hands, and that landowners did not need the assistance of credit, inasmuch as their patrimonial resources were sufficient to meet the needs of a normal agricultural enterprise. Therefore, before the creation of systems of agricultural credit, when loans made for agricultural purposes were spoken of, they were understood to involve banking transactions which in no way differed from transactions taking place between credit agencies and commercial or industrial enterprises.

However, acute problems arose from the concentration of land in the hands of relatively few proprietors and, as a result, the governments decided on the breaking up of the large estates, not only for the benefit of the individuals who became small holders but also to the advantage of society generally. This move created a need for special legislative, economic, and

technical measures in the field of agricultural credit.

Why was this governmental intervention necessary?

First of all, exigencies of a social character would impose on those responsible for the administration of the countries obligations toward the men who, living on the land and firmly attached to the land, would still not have the necessities of life. Moreover, it is necessary to consider the intensification of national productivity, which naturally should be much greater as soon as pride in land ownership on the part of the actual tillers of the soil increased through their greater and more effective efforts.

There was also a reason of a character not strictly socio-economic, but rather political, which inspired the governing classes to create and give preference to the special form of credit which was called agricultural. Accompanying the popularized education of the masses, which made enormous strides in the last decades, the demand for material reforms continued to make its greatest influence felt. Therefore, confronted by the demands of workers' organizations, individuals, and some groups of intellectuals, the governments considered making concessions as a safety valve. This evident process of social adaptation, which was based on two movements of different natures, because they originated in these two different and antagonistic social spheres, still received its primary impetus from the rapid disappearance of what a philosopher has called the mentality

of slaves. We observe here that the new horizons which were opened up in the world of thought, based on a profound change in the thinking of the masses, naturally increased the energy and zeal with which the economists and the sociologists approached their work.

### **Tenure Reforms and Agricultural Credit**

Meanwhile, due, especially to the post-bellum laws of agrarian reform and the corresponding impetus which was given the cooperatives of small agriculturalists, the fundamental problem for the legislature is now that of special agricultural credit. If, in fact, the new small landholders are lacking, as is the rule, in available capital and in the necessary means for putting their efforts to productive use, the new holdings, so opportunely created, can not maintain their vitality. An example of this type of situation was presented in Yugoslavia, where the farmers, recently made proprietors of apportioned lands, because they possessed nothing, neither the money, the machinery, nor the livestock, simply and completely abandoned the lands which had been granted them and which they had already enthusiastically taken possession of.

When the states intervened, for the reasons mentioned, to create a new and privileged form of credit in favor of the farmers, they had to consider the needs peculiar to agrarian activity, and to impose conditions for the operation of the banks which would be absolutely ruinous

from the point of view of sound banking practice. It was recognized that there must be very long term loans and that, at the same time rates of interest had to be enormously reduced. Therefore, the banks which must provide agricultural credit find themselves in a situation of serious disadvantage in comparison with the other banks and, in general, with any other commercial enterprise. Obviously, the long term operations and the very low rate of interest leave a margin of profit always reduced and often absolutely lacking. Moreover, as the laws promulgated in the different countries have entrusted to these credit agencies some auxiliary activities which require many expenditures, the result is that the legislators, following the lead of the theorists, have recognized the necessity of giving to the special banks a function of a genuinely social character which distinguishes them from the others. In arranging this, the state has taken part directly or indirectly in the creation and, what is more important, in the management of the banks of agricultural credit.

The methods used in making these grants vary from one country to another; but it can be said that almost all the systems agree in two forms of direct financial participation: capital granted to meet an emergency; subsidies provided continuously or periodically.

France offers us the typical example of these two forms.

In the year 1897 the *Banque de France*, an agency of issue enjoying many privileges, which it naturally

desires to have continued, found itself obligated to furnish the state with the enormous sum of forty million francs, which were all immediately applied in behalf of a national agricultural credit program. Moreover, the same banking institution had to deliver each year a percentage of its profits, and as these were always considerable, contributions to agricultural credit even before the first world war amounted to some seven million francs annually.

#### **Psycho-Social Factors Discourage the Use of Credit**

With the very large resources which the governments thought of placing at the disposal of the classes of the agricultural proletariat (we use this latter term as does Professor Gorni, of the International Labor Office, to include the aggregate of all of the small land holders and not only the mass of the agricultural day laborers) few anticipated that the special banks would encounter as the first difficulty in their functioning an important obstacle of a psychological nature.

The idea of credit in general has, in the minds of the lower classes in agriculture, a character completely synonymous with the idea of usury. Here we see again the necessary parallel between the material advancement of the masses and their cultural advancement. Actually this attitude should not surprise us because not only in ancient times, but in our day as well, the appropriations, contributions, and loans of any nature whatever made or given by capitalists, in the rural areas took on the

unquestionable character of objectionable usury. The use of extensive credit is not very old; we can say with Goddard that up to the middle of the 19th century even the idea of requesting a loan was disagreeable to many classes of society. All this changed because gradually the introduction and spread of the operation of the bank discount disseminated the idea of the normality of loans in commercial activity. Nevertheless even today a deep seated aversion to the loan persists tenaciously in the social classes of the rural areas.

#### **Psycho-Social Factors and the Cooperatives**

We must, finally, speak of another difficulty with which the banks had to cope in the development of cooperatives. When, through the agrarian reforms of the last decade, the government concerned itself with transforming the large estates of the great landowners into small holdings of the rural workers, the lack of machinery and draft animals for cultivating the land presented itself. Furthermore, the danger of the sale of the products at a low price due to the fact that each farmer was dealing with the buyers in only small quantities added another difficulty. The remedy which immediately presented itself was that of promoting cooperatives of small agriculturalists, through which the government hoped to resolve all difficulties of this kind. The function of developing the cooperatives was assumed by the banks of agricultural credit.

Incredible as it may seem at first

glance, the banks encountered in this work of education connected with the creation and development of the co-operatives, another enormous difficulty which is also of a psychological nature. The farmer has always considered the course of his life as a slow progress directed, naturally, toward the ownership of land. This is a feeling deep in his soul; it is a product seemingly spontaneous, but actually the unconscious work of many generations. Therefore, the beneficiaries of the agrarian reform in all countries obstruct passively, if not actively, the development of the co-operatives.

Against this prejudice of the people in the rural areas a special program of preparatory education is imperative. This should be one of the basic activities of the banks; and in many countries these banks have opportunely and effectively created a special technical service to accomplish this objective. For, given the distrustful, sceptical, conservative nature of the mental pattern of the farmer, persuasion is the best means of obtaining the desired result.

### Cooperatives and Agricultural Credit

The cooperatives in some forty years have invaded the world, and their most enthusiastic supporters are the members themselves: therefore we may say that as the excellence of the system inheres *in re ipso*, its efficacy will be proven almost automatically in the course of its development. Cooperation will come gradually to penetrate into the life of the peasants, performing its true economic function, gradually modifying

the traditional rural individualism, improving, from the point of view of the national economy as well as from the individual point of view, the productivity of agricultural enterprises.

Immediately following the world war Rathenau, the German economist, placed his ability as promoter at the service of his country. He contended, in a very influential work, that the post war period would witness the rapid and violent transformation of the economic world; that still "after this veritable conflagration, two pillars of the preexisting order would remain standing: the monopolies of the great rural landed estates and those controlling the natural resources beneath the soil."

It is very interesting today, after more than 20 years, to see how this prophecy of Rathenau has been proved to be half wrong. The international monopolies, symbols of an unfortunate imperialism, still exist, certainly with respect to the riches hidden in the innermost recesses of the earth. However, on the other hand, the landed estates, symbols all over the world of the inequitable distribution of agricultural ownership, have been attacked in all countries and are to a great extent already broken up. This fact caused the development of an absolutely new economy, in which the extraordinary importance that agricultural credit has assumed in the contemporary world must be recognized. Its function, in that which concerns the development of the rural economy, is truly basic, in a great measure revolutionary, and always vital to the



economic and social structure of the nations.

We will remember, one of the conclusions of the International Economic Conference of Geneva (Subcommittee on agricultural affairs). "It is necessary to note that the shortages of capital and the rise in rate of interest which results from it is one of the principal factors which now impedes the development of agriculture."

Because they meet a critical need, in a few years the large national cooperative organizations have developed an organization international in character and scope. Already in the year 1895 there was created an International Cooperative Alliance which, with tendencies almost openly socialistic, was always in close contact with the famous International Syndicalists of Amsterdam.

In order to give the international organization an appearance of greater objectivity and at the same time obtain the cooperation of states in which the principles of government were strictly opposed to socialistic tendencies, Albert Thomas, the founder and director for many years of the International Labor Office in Geneva, considered the advisability of a new committee, which was finally created in the year 1931. It consisted of the International Cooperative Alliance and the International Committee on Agriculture. This fact brought into relief the importance of the agricultural cooperatives in our time in all the world.

### Agricultural Extension and Insurance

In nations in which great agricultural development is possible, agricultural credit naturally constitutes a principal basis of agricultural economics since the peasants have found in this recourse to long time reasonable credit for individual or cooperative operations. Nevertheless, in a rural economy which from the social point of view may be said to be advanced, there are other branches of activity which it is necessary to guard, change, and perfect. Of course, the agricultural techniques are important, as is recognized in all countries. However, in our opinion it is insufficient to do things which by nature are preparatory or temporary. For example, it is not sufficient to give the rural people bits of isolated information or knowledge.

It would be more effective to use individuals who live on the land and are constantly and whole heartedly pouring out advice and knowledge of every kind. In Italy very good results have been experienced from the travelling agricultural classrooms since the pre-world war I period. In each province there is a nucleus of agricultural experts which in addition to its activity in the provincial institutes where they advise and counsel with the agriculturists, goes continually to the country to be in contact with the peasants. In this manner a few specially trained individuals are utilized to the interest of thousands and thousands of agriculturists. Something similar was created in Poland and Rumania, where in

1921 the Agricultural Board was created. New Russia adopted a different system which proved very effective. There the State sent the most intelligent of the agricultural workers to study a few years in vocational agricultural schools on the condition that they return after their studies to the villages of origin.

No matter what may be considered the motivation in the various countries, there always exists a preoccupation with increasing the potentialities of technical agriculture. This field of activity is extending itself, being in large part modified by the effect of the industrialization of agricultural enterprises. Finally, we must insist that while extending instruction in secondary schools and colleges we place even more emphasis upon instruction in the elementary schools. Actually the best and almost the only accomplishments in the field of improved agricultural practices are attained by the teachers in the elementary school in the country. Only they have the opportunity of living in constant contact with the rural children and of instilling in them the elementary principles of rational agriculture. Experience teaches that through the children an intelligent teacher devoted to his duty may easily and effectively reach the adults of the community.

A final subject of vital importance for agricultural economics in each country is the matter of insurance. It is not necessary to dwell on the tragic results of natural catastrophies in the rural areas. In bringing insurance to the rural people one is com-

pelled to think that the state should act as distributor and also that the state should make insurance obligatory. Thus for some 20 years all the governments have adopted and energetically applied the principle of planned economy and, as a result, general compulsory insurance for agricultural properties. Its practical form should more justly be considered as something similar to a system of organized mutual aid, for in this manner is attained the advantage resulting from redistributing among all the members of the collective the profits which according to sound economic doctrine may be thought of as savings.

#### Summary Comments

Thus summarizing in broad outlines the fundamental bases of agricultural economics we may conclude by contending that now we can envisage and describe the theory of a cooperative economic order which must include in a logically systemized form the categories of cooperative endeavor and project a theoretical and practical contribution of cooperation in the fields of credit, production and consumption. Agricultural credit as developed in many countries can contribute greatly to this end. Before the wide diffusion of the cooperative, the attitude of governments could not be more than one of open sympathy and support. They might even attempt to present a malicious interpretation of the truth advanced by Gide, "Cooperation is the most living synthesis of orthodox liberalism and socialism." Probably the important

thing for us to abstract from the various motivating forces is that they result in actual cooperatives.

In concluding may we say that we are of the opinion that the working masses can be convinced that it is not possible to improve social conditions except through economic prosperity. That is true notwithstanding, as Seligman wrote: "to assume that private property and individual initiative are the real drives of all the modern movement, is to shut ones eyes to the importance of present

happenings and the teachings of history itself."

In addition, as we have demonstrated, to be useful in agriculture political economics will have to descend from the abstract domain of pompous economic authority which is still a shapeless creature. It must boldly raise itself above conservative individualism in order to be able to carry out its mission of attaining a relatively fair distribution of raw materials, capital, and labor, the three great riches and sources of wealth.

## NOTES

*Edited by Paul H. Landis*

### CULTURAL ISLANDS IN ADAMS COUNTY, INDIANA\*

Students of rural society have recently become interested in the existence of culturally divergent groups in rural areas.<sup>1</sup> These "cultural islands" are found to exist chiefly by virtue of nationality and religious differences. While teaching a summer session at Purdue University in 1941, the writer had called to his attention a situation in Adams County, Indiana, which represents an interesting mosaic of culturally divergent groups based upon nationality-religion cohesion.

Adams County is located in the northeastern part of Indiana, bordering Ohio on the east and in the fourth tier of counties south of Michigan. It is a relatively rich agricultural county, and one of the older settled portions of the state. It had a total population of 21,254 in 1940, increasing by 6.5 per cent during the decade from 1930 to 1940. It had in 1930 only about 3,500 people of foreign birth, or of foreign parentage. Nearly 90 per cent of the foreign stock were German or German-speaking Swiss, the two groups being represented in about equal proportions. However, the total number in the population descending from German or Swiss stock would be much larger than these figures, since only those of foreign birth, or native born of foreign or mixed parentage are indicated. It is probable that those of German and Swiss descent would constitute a majority in the population of the county.

\* The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to L. E. Archbold, County Agent of Adams County for much of the information on which this discussion is based.

<sup>1</sup> See Walter Kollmorgen, "The German-Swiss in Franklin County, Tennessee," (1940); "The German Settlement in Cullman County, Alabama," (1941) and "Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania," (1942) all published by the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.

The population is predominantly rural. Decatur, the county seat, and largest town in the county had a population in 1940 of 5,861; Berne, the next largest, 2,075. Nearly half (10,508) of the population was classified as rural-farm.

The religious affiliation reported by the Census of Religious Bodies<sup>2</sup> for 1936, shows the following denominations in order of numerical importance:

Lutheran	5,696
Methodist	1,808
Catholic	1,751
Mennonite	1,688
Evangelical and Reformed	1,104
Evangelical	894
United Brethren	815
Dunkers	295
Presbyterian	265
Disciples of Christ	105
Church of the Nazarene	96
Friends	75
Congregational and Christian	70
Baptist	40
All Others	687

TOTAL 15,389

Unfortunately the census does not report separately on all of the various sects which are indicated on the accompanying map, but it is sufficient to show the rather unusual proportions of the "minor" denominations.

The general picture can be readily seen from the map. In each of the delineated areas, the various groups represent over 50 per cent of the population within the boundaries, and in some cases they approximate 100 per cent.

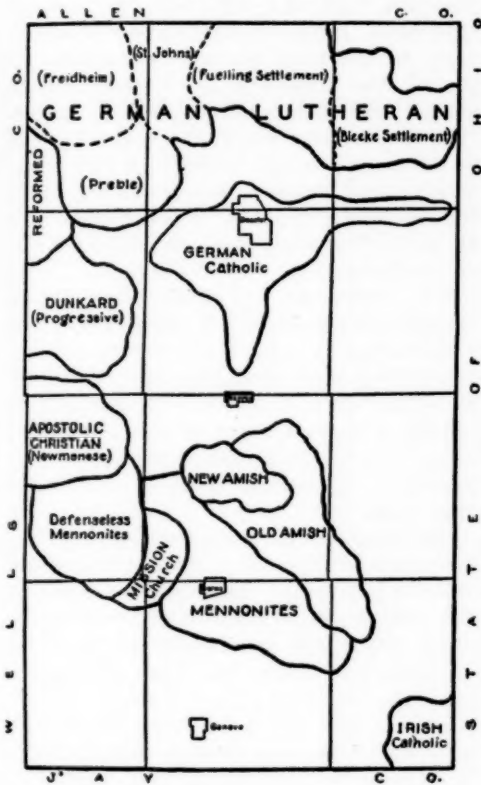
In the northern section of the county, German Lutherans predominate. These are sub-divided into five neighborhoods, the center of each being a church and a parochial school. Both of these institutions are op-

<sup>2</sup> *Census of Religious Bodies*, 1936. Bureau of the Census, Vol. 1, pp. 745-749.



erated by "sun time," about 28 minutes different from Central Standard Time.

Map of Adams County, Indiana



One German Catholic neighborhood also centers about a church and a parochial school, located in the county seat (Decatur). An Evangelical and Reformed church group is concentrated in the northwestern part of the county. The members are largely of German stock.

Adjoining the "Reformed" group to the south is a neighborhood composed of Dunkers—or "Dunkards," as they are locally known. These are mixed Conservative and Progressive Dunkers. These also are largely German stock.

Adjacent to the Dunkers on the south is a sect known locally as Newmenese, the true denominational name being the Apostolic Church of Christ. They are of German-Swiss extraction. The origin of the

local nick-name (Newmenese) is thought to derive from "outsiders" slurring the name New Amish, with whom they were incorrectly identified. This identification might have derived from the known antipathy of the Apostolic group toward military service which also characterizes the Mennonite and Amish bodies. Their social nucleus is a large open-country church.

The "Defenseless Mennonites" are, as the name suggests, a branch of the Mennonites dating from 1860 when "certain members of the Amish Mennonite Church, under the lead of Henry Egli, separated from that body on the ground that the church did not emphasize sufficiently the need of a definite experience of conversion."<sup>3</sup> The sect is concentrated largely in Indiana and Illinois.

Old order Amish, with their "plain" clothes, long hair and beards, have a high degree of social visibility. They eschew modern mechanical contrivances, such as automobiles, tractors, telephones, electricity; do not hold office or vote, and will not use the courts for settlement of disputes. Their aversion to signing any documents leads to difficulties at times, even in the participation in cooperative associations requiring their signature on membership certificates.

"New" or progressive Amish who occupy farm land adjacent to them in Adams County, no longer wear long hair and beards, and are sometimes identified by "outsiders" as "short-haired Amish." Their official name is the Amish Christian Church. They no longer wear the distinctive dress characteristic of the Old Order Amish, nor are they averse to owning tractors, automobiles and other mechanical, "worldly," gadgets. They are very active in agricultural extension activities.

The Amish people generally have no church structures, but hold their religious services in homes of members, a survival of the days of persecution when they were forced to hold religious gatherings in seclusion. They have historically resisted compulsory education for their children, especially beyond the grades.

<sup>3</sup> *Census of Religious Bodies*, 1936, Bulletin No. 17, p. 77.

Mennonites, other than Amish, are numerically important in the county, but are largely concentrated in and around Berne. As is well known, they are opposed to military service, but wear no distinctive dress.

The "Mission Church," west of Berne, is a group which stems from the Defenseless Mennonites. Their defection was due to disagreement over baptismal ceremonies. They are largely German-Swiss in national origin.

The Irish Catholic group in the southeast corner of the county belongs to a trade area, the center of which is outside the county in Celina, Ohio.

#### COMMENTS

The visitor to Adams County is impressed by the extent to which religious groups maintain their identity. The groups described are ethnocentric to an extraordinary degree. The American cultural environment has apparently done less than one might have expected to break down group barriers. Assimilation is taking place slowly, if at all, in some of these groups.

The extent of geographic concentration may be unusual when compared to other sections, but there is accumulating evidence of a larger measure of nationality-religious grouping than has been generally supposed. This locality grouping tends to foster the preservation of in-group loyalties and characteristics, and is something of an impediment to the ultimate elimination of "social visibility."

Oftentimes, the differences among the groups appear superficial to the outsider, but are undoubtedly considered fundamental to those concerned. For example, several of these groups derive from the movement founded in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1525, and which in 1550 took the name "Mennonite" after Menno Simons (1496-1561) the most important early leader of the group. Despite this common origin, however, the group has sub-divided many times. There were 17 district "Mennonite Bodies" listed in the Census of Religious Bodies for 1936. Some of them practice communion, others do not. Some wear a distinctive dress,

while others do not. When the writer asked one Amish farmer what was the difference between Amish and Mennonite, he said: "Just what you see," recognizing by implication, that the difference was largely superficial. However, another Amishman in reply to the same question apparently regarded the difference as of more fundamental character; although his answer, "The Mennonites sue in the courts," would be catalogued by an outsider as superficial. (Incidentally, when a Mennonite was asked regarding the practice of using the courts he said, "We never sue our own brethren; only outsiders.")

But, however superficial an outsider might consider the stated differences among religious groups, the fact must be accepted that the groups themselves take these differences very seriously. Rural society carries a heavy freight of sectarian differences, and while church unity may be accepted as an ideal, it is as yet little more than that.

The existence of these closely-knit groups exercises considerable influence upon rural social organization. Some of them, especially the Amish group, have such definite sanctions and taboos as to definitely limit their participation in some secular activities. For example, when an egg-marketing cooperative was established in Adams County, it was discovered that Amish farmers would be unable to sign membership certificates or any contract agreements. The County Agent was able to get a special dispensation for them from the organization, permitting them to participate without the usual formal agreements. Such limitations imposed by religious conviction, plus the additional requirement of a distinctive mode of dress, impede free social interaction with "outsiders."

Intermarriage is definitely discouraged among peoples with such strong in-group sentiments. This tends further to strengthen their existence as "cultural islands." Assimilation is not to be expected.

Rural education whether on the child or adult level needs to take into account this fact of heterogeneity. Leaders who wish to make effective contacts with these groups

must understand and sympathize with their systems of values, and adapt their programs accordingly. It obviously cannot be assumed that American rural society is

homogeneous, yet many programs devised at the top rest on such assumptions.

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## QUALITATIVE MEASURES OF RURAL HOUSING ATTITUDES

Several methods of measuring attitudes of rural people have been used with varying degrees of confidence. Some researchers use only quantified scales while others rely most upon qualitative ratings. This article describes the validity and reliability of five qualitative ratings of attitudes toward housing four of which were specific verbal responses of interviewees. The fifth was a generalized rating of satisfactoriness of housing which was made by the interviewer upon the basis of many specific responses both verbal and gestural. The four specific verbal responses are here regarded as independent ratings of housing satisfaction viewed from different perspectives. The data which formed the basis for this report were interview records concerning 517 homes selected to represent an approximate cross-section of housing in rural Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup>

A general rating of housing satisfaction was made for each householder by the interviewer (scale S). These ratings involved checking one of five positions on a continuum with corresponding cue statements as follows: (a) extremely satisfied, (b) mostly satisfied, (c) equally satisfied and dissatisfied, (d) mostly dissatisfied and (e) extremely dissatisfied. In making these ratings the interviewer summarized his impressions of answers to many questions, spontaneous comments, gestures and other factors which seemed important in the total housing situation of the respondent.

<sup>1</sup>*Housing and Attitudes Toward Housing in Rural Pennsylvania*, The Pennsylvania Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 436 (1942). *Measurement of Housing and Attitudes Toward Housing in Rural Pennsylvania*, The Pennsylvania Agricultural Experiment Station Technical Paper, 1149 (mimeographed, 1942).

The second measure (scale T) was the householder's verbally reported qualitative rating of the place he preferred as a residence, that is, whether (a) his present house, (b) another house in the same community or (c) a house in a different community appealed most to him.

A third measure (scale U) was a rating of housing status. Each respondent reported verbally his conception of the quality of his own home in comparison with the homes of his closest neighbors, that is, whether he regarded it as (a) better (b) poorer or (c) about the same as his neighbors' homes.

Reports of the housing improvements that were desired by the householder constituted the fourth measure (scale V). All of the desired improvements mentioned by the respondent during the interview were recorded by the interviewer and the responses were later classified to facilitate analysis.

A further indication of housing attitudes was obtained by asking each respondent how he would spend a hypothetical 100-dollar gift (scale W), that is (a) for housing, (b) for some other purpose or (c) was he undecided about the matter.

The validity of each of these measures was tested by determining the statistical significance of their interrelationships, using chi-square techniques. The probabilities that various pairs of the five measures were not related were as follows:

P <sub>ST</sub>	less than .01
P <sub>SU</sub>	less than .01
P <sub>SV</sub>	less than .01
P <sub>SW</sub>	less than .01
P <sub>TU</sub>	less than .01
P <sub>TV</sub>	less than .05
P <sub>TW</sub>	more than .40
P <sub>UV</sub>	less than .01
P <sub>UW</sub>	less than .02
P <sub>VW</sub>	less than .01

The reliability of scales S, T, U, V and W was tested by three methods: (1) Ratings on scale S made by two interviewers for householders who were matched according to housing, age and residence class, were compared. These were found to be sufficiently similar that the differences could be accounted for as chance fluctuations (by a chi-square test,  $P$  was more than .40). On scale T the responses were also reported as similar ( $P$  was more than .20 by a chi-square test). On scale U the differences could probably be accounted for as due to chance ( $P$  was more than .05 by a chi-square test). This test was not made for scales V and W. (2) Variations in responses according to whether the family head, the wife or some other person supplied information (Q scale) were found by chi-square tests to be probably attributable to chance fluctuations in scales S, U, V and W but not in T. The probability that the relationship of each scale to the type of interviewee might be accounted for by chance was:

$P_{sq}$	more than .05
$P_{Tq}$	less than .01
$P_{Uq}$	more than .10
$P_{Vq}$	more than .90
$P_{Wq}$	more than .05

(3) Questionnaires administered to 1,641

school children in the communities where the study was made gave results that were comparable to those obtained by ratings of the interviewer. While 68 per cent of the children said they liked the houses in which they lived, 67 per cent of the adult householders were rated as satisfied with their houses. These comparisons are not exactly comparable, however, for 83 per cent of the children reported that their parents liked the houses in which they lived. Both children and adults made ratings which could be compared directly; namely, comparisons of their own homes with the homes of their closest neighbors. On this measure school children rated their own homes as better than neighbors' 1.08 times more often than they rated them as poorer; the comparable ratio of the interview responses was 1.06.

Qualitative ratings of attitudes toward housing were found, by the tests described above, to be relatively valid and reliable. These results, however, should be considered suggestive rather than conclusive. Much remains to be done in the field of attitude testing of rural populations. Recent improvements in statistical tests of significance of qualitative classifications should prove helpful.

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## CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

*Edited by Conrad Taeuber\**

### COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

The purpose of this study,<sup>1</sup> was to measure attitudes of adult persons living in a New York rural community toward a number of current issues and to describe quantitatively any relationships which were found to exist between attitudes and persons' representative social and economic position in the community. The study reveals that of all factors correlated with attitudes, persons of different attitudes were distinguished most clearly and significantly by: (1) economic position in the community, and (2) by the type of formal

group (organizations) to which they belonged.

The sixth volume in the BAE series of rural life studies<sup>2</sup> details the story of how Harmony, an old plantation Piedmont cotton belt community, adjusted itself to a

\* Assisted by Elsie S. Manny, Douglas Ensminger, Waller Wynne, Josiah C. Folsom and Rachel R. Swiger.

<sup>1</sup> Lawrence S. Bee, *The effect of status on attitudes in a New York rural community*. Cornell Univ. Agr. Expt. Sta. Mimeo. Bul. 5, 51 pp. In cooperation with the Bur. of Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr., Ithaca, Oct., 1942.



new way of life, based principally on dairying, after the bollweevil dethroned cotton as king in Putnam County and forced half the County's population to migrate. Like the earlier reports in this review, this one begins by identifying and characterizing the community, then follows with a discussion of the history and background of the community, the people on the land, the community itself, and of the farmer in relation to an expanding world. It concludes with a brief treatment of integration and disintegration in community and individual life. "Harmony Community, to a greater degree than any other studied in this series, presents a strong biracial adjustment. It is, in truth, two communities, having little in common except the understanding that keeps them apart and their economic interdependence. In both communities changes that were impelled originally by the onslaughts of the bollweevil are being hurried on by the pressures and pulls of an encroaching urban and industrial society. As the economy shifts from cotton to cream, the work habits, social relationship, and community structure assume different patterns."

*Social and ecological patterns in the farm leadership of four Iowa townships*<sup>3</sup> represents "an effort to learn more about the relationships between farmers and the persons in whom they repose confidence for leadership." One hundred and forty-one farmers, representing a 25 per cent sample of all operators residing in each of the four townships, were interviewed to determine whom they considered "real" leaders, as opposed to nominal leaders or functionaries, with reference to six problems considered serious to farmers: Rural schools, farm taxes, scarcity of farms, land use, local roads, and migration of youth. "Real" leaders, for "practical purposes," were divided

into three types: *Advisors, organizers, and representatives*. A majority of farmers were able to name leaders but upon most problems "no individual was named as leader by more than one-fifth of all farmers" interviewed. On the versatility of leaders, the report states, "that in many instances there has been a tendency to select the same leader for different leadership functions within the same problem," but "that while many farmers did not distinguish between advisors, organizers and representatives on the same problem, they did clearly distinguish between leaders on different problems." "The majority of operators designated open country residents, farmers, as their leaders." On all but one problem—local roads—there was tendency for operators to select leaders from their own township, but this might be due to the presence of strong neighborhood units. No farmer suggested as a leader someone with whom he had no direct acquaintance whatsoever, and the majority named leaders with whom they had truly personal contacts.

*Comparison of representation in administrative agencies with natural neighborhoods and communities, Roane County, Tennessee*<sup>4</sup> follows closely that of an earlier study made by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in Greene County, Georgia—"Communities and Administrative Areas of Greene County, Georgia." The objective of the study was to map the administrative areas used by the separate agencies in administering their program and then to compare these areas with the natural neighborhoods and communities. This comparison and lack of correlation between the various administrative areas and the administrative areas and the neighborhood and communities is graphically presented in this publication.

*Studies of the methods of mobilizing rural*

<sup>3</sup> Waller Wynne. *Culture of a contemporary rural community, Harmony, Georgia*. *Rur. Life Studies* 6, 58 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr. Washington, D. C., Jan. 1943.

<sup>4</sup> Bryce Ryan. *Social and ecological patterns in the farm leadership of four Iowa townships*. *Iowa Agr. Expt. Sta. Res. Bul.* 306. pp. 141-202. Ames, Sept. 1942.

<sup>4</sup> Charles E. Allred and others. *Comparison of representation in administrative agencies with natural neighborhoods and communities, Roane County, Tennessee*. *Tenn. Agr. Expt. Sta. Agr. Econ. and Rur. Socio. Dept. Rur. Ser. Mono.* 138. 47 pp. Knoxville, Sept. 15, 1942.

people for war emergencies<sup>5</sup> in two counties in California inventory and analyze all war programs which have been undertaken in the counties. Each program is analyzed to find out how it was planned and which agencies and organizations assisted. To find out the extent of participation and understanding the rural people have with respect to the war programs approximately 100 families were interviewed in each county. The findings reveal that there is general lack of planning and cooperation of programs which renders many activities more ineffective than would otherwise be the case. The task of mobilizing rural communities in California is made difficult because the industrial nature of agriculture in California has created a society in which local ties are loose and there are few natural social interactions between persons living in the same neighborhood.

*Farm families in the Grange*<sup>6</sup> is the fourth in a series of studies of the membership of New York State rural residents in rural organization. Farmers who belonged to the Grange differ from those who do not belong in that Grange members: more frequently belong to other organizations; are slightly older; have moved less frequently; have had slightly more formal schooling; have more household conveniences in their homes; have better transportation and communication facilities; more frequently are full owners of their farms; have greater family incomes.

#### FARM LABOR

Faced by a prospective shortage of pickers and packers for their apple and pear crops, growers and packers organized early in the summer of 1942 a large Farm

Labor Supply Council.<sup>7</sup> The resulting activities to recruit and distribute needed labor and their results are outlined. The result of the campaign was that 16,262 cars of fruit were harvested (a preharvest estimate had been a crop of 16,000 cars), but still 10 per cent of the crop was lost because of lack of labor. The 1942 experience has provided a basis upon which to build the 1943 procedure with hopes of equal or greater success. One wishes, for the benefit of other localities, that the author had outlined the practices used and results obtained in housing and supervising out-of-area workers, particularly youth. These will necessarily be increasing elements of farm labor forces the longer the war lasts, and successful management all the way from recruiting to return home is essential.

*Wanted—man power for Arizona farms*<sup>8</sup> is an analysis of seasonal and year-round farm labor requirements in Arizona for 1935 to 1943 and a description of the program of meeting requirements in 1942. The recommendations include: Centralization of recruiting and assigning of out-of-State laborers to Arizona farms; more effective recruitment and use of the Indians from reservations; recruiting and using older school youth as a local school and community enterprise; recruiting and using persons otherwise employed in towns and cities through civic bodies in cooperation with local farmer associations; county-wide closing of all saloons and all other liquor dispensaries on Sunday; developing the pressure of public wrath against able-bodied idlers; bonuses and awards in addition to the going rates of pay to workers who remain throughout the season; rates of pay which are not so high that they encourage idlers, high enough to show the farm laborer that he is getting fair treatment and sufficient to permit the operator to stay in the farming industry; improvement of

<sup>5</sup> Walter R. Goldschmidt. *A study of the methods of mobilizing rural people for war emergencies, Tulare County, California*. 23 pp. Walter R. Goldschmidt and John S. Page. *A study of the methods of mobilizing rural people for war emergencies, Kern County, California*. 23 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr. Berkeley, Calif. Mar. 1943.

<sup>6</sup> W. A. Anderson. *Farm families in the Grange*. A study in Cortland and Otsego Counties, New York. Cornell Univ. Agr. Expt. Sta. Mimeo. Bul. 7, 38 pp. Ithaca, Mar. 1943.

<sup>7</sup> Harold Brogger. *The 1942 farm labor program in the Wenatchee and Okanogan fruit areas*. 33 pp. U. S. Dept. Agr. Wenatchee, Wash., Jan. 23, 1943.

<sup>8</sup> E. D. Tetreau. *Wanted—man power for Arizona farms*. Ariz. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 186. 36 pp. Tucson, Nov. 1942.

farm housing; and a greater use of the labor of farm operators and their families.

Pamphlet No. 3 in the Wartime Farm and Food Policy Series of Iowa State College deals with *Manpower in agriculture*.<sup>9</sup> The section of the report which is devoted to proposed lines of action summarized the findings and major conclusions as follows: (1) Agriculture, taken as a whole, still has more manpower than it needs for producing war-essential foods up to the maximum limits set by land, feed, and equipment supplies available in 1943. Hence, draft deferments and freezing of farm workers should be applied sparingly and should not prevent a continued movement of workers from overcrowded farms and poor agricultural regions into war factories and the armed forces. (2) Farm labor in 1943 will be scarce and less skilled on many of the larger livestock farms and in regions where crops require many additional workers for peak seasons. To meet these demands for manpower, farm workers should be helped to move from labor-surplus to labor-deficit areas, draft deferments should be granted in emergency cases, and labor-saving machinery should be provided. (3) With the year-round manpower available in 1943 on the majority of farms, livestock production can be further increased. The labor force of the farmer and his family on the typical family-type farm could produce more meat, poultry, and dairy products than in 1942. To put this under-employed manpower to better use, farmers should be provided with additional feed from our bulging granaries, and with equipment as well as advice regarding more efficient production methods. We must look to the millions of small family-type farms for any substantial increases in livestock products over the record level of 1942. The larger and highly commercialized farms are already producing near full capacity of their manpower. (4) The shortage of seasonal labor needed for field work and crop harvesting in 1943 will be serious in the vegetable-, fruit-, and grain-

producing areas. (5) Farm wages are playing a major role in shifting workers from farms to factories, as well as within agriculture from low-wage to high-wage farms.

#### POPULATION

Field interviews with relatives and friends of former residents of two rural counties in eastern Washington were the source of information about wartime migrants<sup>10</sup> to other areas. The migrants were predominantly young men. The major migration has been to the Puget Sound area and to nearby cities. Out-of-State areas, except for cities just across the State line, were relatively unimportant as destinations. Nearly half the migrants had jobs arranged before leaving the county. Three-fourths of the families of the migrants either had located in the new community or were planning to do so. But very few of those who had owned any property had disposed of it. Persons in the communities of origin stated that they expect nearly three-fifths to return after the war. Distance from the home community as well as the industrial characteristics of the city to which migrants went were important elements in the reported expectation to return. Only a few persons had left and returned during the period of study.

Population changes in Washington between 1930 and 1940 are the major topic of the report *Back to the country—the rural trend in Washington's population*.<sup>11</sup> The most rapid increase occurred in the open-country nonfarm population, and it receives major emphasis. More than one-half of the total population increase in the State occurred in this population group. In 1940 it exceeded the number of farm residents. The open-country nonfarm population is concentrated in areas adjacent to large cities, those characterized by abundant in-

<sup>9</sup> Paul H. Landis. *The loss of rural manpower to war industry through migration*. Ser. in Rur. Pop. No. 10. Wash. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 427. 36 pp. Pullman, Jan. 1943.

<sup>11</sup> Carl F. Reuss. *Back to the country—The rural trend in Washington's population*. Series in Rur. Pop. No. 9. Wash. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 426. 33 pp. Pullman, Dec. 1942.

<sup>9</sup> Rainer Schickele. *Manpower in agriculture*. 50 pp. Pamphlet No. 3 in the Wartime Farm and Food Policy Ser. Iowa State College Press, Ames, 1943.

dustrial or seasonal agricultural employment opportunities and in lumbering areas. It is of little importance in the eastern wheat producing counties. Although towns and cities had grown rapidly before 1920; stability in population numbers was the typical situation between 1930 and 1940. County seat towns grew especially rapidly during the thirties.

The Committee on Wisconsin's population<sup>12</sup> problems considered its task to be:

(1) To summarize the essential facts of early settlement, the differential contributions of foreign-born and native-born to the growth of population; outline the numerical aspects of the population of the State in terms of its distribution and composition. (2) To study the trends which are influencing our population—birth and death rates, marriage and divorce rates, changes in occupation—and to suggest the probable consequences of these trends. (3) To attempt a statement of the probable population trends in the future, with their attendant social and economic problems, in the light of past and present developments. (4) To inventory the qualitative aspects of our population resources by portraying the growth and present number of the mentally handicapped, the asocial, and the incorrigible, together with their peculiar problems, and the probable effects resulting from the transmission of their traits to their descendants. (5) To show the nature of problems among the disadvantaged classes, the physically handicapped or sick, the unemployed, those receiving general relief, work relief, or pensions, and the otherwise publicly-cared-for population, as well as to suggest the probable magnitude of these problems in the future.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

*Yesterday, today, and tomorrow*<sup>13</sup> is the third annual report of developments in an FSA project including families who were unable to qualify as standard RR borrowers when the project began. Then they pro-

<sup>12</sup> Univ. of Wisconsin. *Wisconsin's changing population*. 90 pp. Science Inquiry Publ. IX. Serial No. 2642. Madison, Wis. Oct. 1942.

duced little for sale or for their own use; now they are contributing food and manpower to the Nation's war effort and are making progress in their own personal struggle for freedom from want as well. The part that group activities have played in the rehabilitation process is emphasized. As these families have increased their income and property, improved their level of living, and shown initiative in making wartime adjustments, their place in the community has changed. This change is described by a project supervisor as follows: "The progress these families have made is reflected in the change of attitude of the families toward the program and the change in attitude of the townspeople toward the families. The attitude of the townspeople at the beginning of the program was that these families were 'Government paupers.' As a result, the families were not eager to have it generally known that they were connected with the program. The fact that they were able to make real progress and come back into the life of the community and take an active and respected part in its affairs has brought about a complete change in the attitude of the townspeople—they now respect these families and recognize their ability as leaders and functioning members of their community."

*The nutrition of Virginia people*,<sup>14</sup> as indicated by the diets of school children in the fifth to tenth grades, was found to be deficient in many foods necessary for good health. Fifty-five rural schools (46 white, 9 Negro) and 6 urban schools furnished data for two surveys made in the spring and fall of 1941. Approximately 75 per cent of the children reported that they ate the same foods as served adult members of their families. Diet inadequacy was found

<sup>13</sup> Rachel Rowe Swiger and Olaf F. Larson. *Yesterday, today, and tomorrow*. 31 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr. in cooperation with Farm Security Admin., Washington, D. C., March, 1943.

<sup>14</sup> Geneva Parker. *The nutrition of Virginia people as indicated by the diets of school children*. Rur. Socio. Report No. 24. 71 pp. Va. Agr. Expt. Sta. in cooperation with Va. State Nutrition Committee and WPA. Blacksburg, Nov., 1942.



in all income groups and was due to the consumption of too many of the refined foods rather than to the lack of food. Meat, fish, poultry and eggs was the only food class for which the average was 100 per cent adequacy for all children. Approximately one-third showed a milk inadequacy of 50 percent or more. In some of the protective food classes, the consumption for more than two-thirds of the children was less than 50 percent adequate. In all food classes except whole-grain cereals, urban white children rank definitely higher than rural. With the exception of whole-grain cereals and meat, the urban Negro children tend to rank higher than the rural in all food classes. The average diet of all children includes less than two-thirds of the elements recommended in nutritional standards.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Edited by Howard W. Beers*

*Social Causation*. By Robert M. MacIver. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1942. Pp. x + 414. \$3.50.

The basic source of dissatisfaction in contemporary sociology is what appears to be the low degree of empirical probability to which the sociologist is inevitably reduced in his attempts to predict the recurrence of social phenomena. One solution of this problem, which has been adopted by many introductory text-book writers, is the devising of a new definition of science which does not include the element of conditional prediction. To those who believe that such a redefinition is undesirable, the problem is one of finding means of raising the level of probability in such predictive efforts, rather than one of finding excuses for abandoning the quest. Such is the spirit in which MacIver's *Social Causation* has been written.

While many will sympathize with the spirit in which this admirable work has been conceived, the orientation of the proposals for the reconstruction of sociology around a revalidated concept of causation will prove repellent to those who have been intellectually reared in the atmosphere of probability logic. In view of this potential opposition, as well as of what seems to be of MacIver's failure to show that the idea of necessity involved in his concept of causation is anything more than an unprovable assumption, it is fortunate that his concrete proposals for change in methodology are just as compatible with a sophisticated view of probability as they are with the concept of necessity. In order that we may understand this apparently paradoxical compatibility, it is necessary that we consider the reasons which led Mac-

Iver to attempt the revalidation of the concept of causation.

In the opinion of the reviewers, the fundamental fallacy upon which this effort to rebuild sociological method around the idea of necessity rests is the confusing of the pragmatic results of the abandonment of the concept of causes with the theoretically inevitable consequences of such abandonment. Whatever the latter consequences may actually have been, MacIver seems to believe that the low degree of empirical probability which sociological generalizations are able to offer belongs in this category. Not so; the very fact that physical scientists have been able to abandon the concept of causation with impunity, should lead us to search elsewhere for the conditions leading to this deplorable state of affairs in the social sciences. The reviewers hold that these conditions are to be found in the pragmatic consequences of abandonment of the concept of causation. The fundamental argument can be stated briefly: when the physical scientists abandoned the idea of cause they were still able to control the conditions under which generalizations could be formulated, with the result that the probabilities found in this area of investigation still were extremely high. In many instances the idea of probability in the physical sciences does not grow out of the discovery of cases constituting "exceptions" to the generalization, but rather out of the admission that necessity can never be shown.

In the social sciences a different path was followed, primarily because of the inability to experiment. This led to a conception of probability based on the statistical manipulation of empirical data, the use of which led usually to extremely low degrees of probability because of the empirical intertwining of several systems of relations in a single empirical situation. The pressure of the idea of necessity had earlier led social scientists to attempt the discovery of uniformities without exception. Given the present empirical concept of probability, however, many contemporary sociologists are satisfied with any probability which is better than chance. The issue is further con-

fused by identifying the probability of the physical scientist with the empirical probability of the social scientist. They are not the same thing, since the probability of the laboratory is discovered under controlled conditions, while the probability of the social scientist is only the initial step in the discovery of significant relationships. Probability in the social sciences will develop to the point where it is identical with the probability of the physical scientist only when satisfactory substitutes for experiment are discovered; i.e., substitutes yielding probabilities approximating one hundred per cent on the theoretical level. In other words, we must find methods for disentangling the complicated network of social relations occurring in empirical situations so that their potential uniformities can be discerned; otherwise, the sociologist cannot hope to increase the empirical probabilities of his predictions.

These methods are partly to be found in the refinement of statistical techniques so that more and more variables can be controlled, but even more necessary is the development of methodology dealing with the logical nature of abstraction. It is in this latter sphere that the proposals of MacIver are significant and, if the reviewers are correct, can be used *despite* their nominal dependence on the idea of necessity. MacIver makes two basic proposals: first, that the only way in which significant relationships can be discovered is by addressing our enquiry "to a specific difference between comparable situations;" second, that the investigation of social data has the distinctive necessity for heeding the "dynamic assessment" or the "subjective" factors in social action. Both of these proposals should be considered further.

In his discussion of the "quest of the specific why" and the "formula of causal investigation," MacIver shows clearly that he is aware that the infinite multiplicity of relational systems in any empirical situation makes necessary the abstraction of the elements considered important for the purposes at hand. He is also cognizant of the fact that this abstraction must be followed by exaggeration, so that within the model

so constructed some elements will be held constant and others allowed to vary, although in the real situation from which the data were drawn *all* the elements vary. Finally, he realizes that the generalizations so formulated must be checked against the reality from which they were drawn if the causal adequacy of the explanation is to be demonstrated. This can be done by showing that when the other relational systems are taken into consideration the explanation of the empirical course of events can be understood only in terms of the constructed model.

After developing his analysis to this point, however, MacIver apparently loses sight of the fact that there are two types of abstraction: one to be used when the observer is interested in giving an adequate explanation of a specific sequence of events or processes within a particular historical configuration; the other when the observer is attempting to develop generalizations which will apply to various situations and historical configurations. In his discussion of the "specific why," the methodological principles which are laid down are applicable primarily to historians who wish to analyze the causal factors present in a specific situation. To the second form of abstraction, much more important to the sociologist than the first, MacIver seldom addresses his attention. We are left to wonder how the gap between the formulation of generalizations adequate only for a specific sequence of phenomena and the building up of a system of generalizations not so dated and localized is to be bridged. It is one thing to admit that the first form of abstraction and validation must always be carried out before the observer can set out upon the second, and another to claim implicitly that when the one is completed the other is also finished. This is not the place to conduct a methodological argument, but it can be pointed out that the construction of a system of generalizations involves more than the mere dropping of dates and place names, since certain aspects of the particular configuration which have justifiably been included in the abstraction intended only for that configuration may have

to be dropped in order to render the type or model applicable in other situations. Thus the two forms of abstraction, while closely related, are not identical and demand separate treatment.

The second proposal which MacIver makes is that it is often, if not always, necessary to include within the situation which is to be analyzed the "dynamic assessment" which the person involved makes of the situation. This assertion of the necessity of analyzing human action within the confines of "subjective" categories is certainly not new, but it can be said that in his discussion of the imputation of motive he demonstrates conclusively the operational validity of such procedure. The inferential nature of motive and of the "dynamic assessment" does not invalidate them as basic categories of human action. If they can be constructed or defined on the basis of data which are independent of the phenomena which the concepts are used to explain, the use of such constructs is perfectly legitimate. How useful they may be is, of course, another question, the answer to which is dependent upon the predictive power of the generalizations in which they result.

There is, however, one unfortunate weakness in MacIver's analysis of the "dynamic assessment" which leaves the concept open to the much-used and abused criticism of the extreme behaviorists; namely, that such concepts are unscientific. This weakness resides in the vitalistic flavor which he imparts to the "subjective." The impression is given that in dealing with such phenomena the investigator is faced by a mysterious entity which, although not arbitrary, is not precisely a part of natural phenomena. This difficulty could have been easily avoided had MacIver made use of the behavioral basis for the development of attitudes and motives to be found in the work of such men as G. H. Mead. It can now be shown that motives are the product of social interaction in which language plays by far the most important role. In this respect it can be said that Thomas' "definition of the situation," or Mead's own concepts developed in his analysis of the



rise of the self, place "subjective" factors in action on a much firmer basis than does MacIver's conception of the subjective.

The tone of this review has been somewhat critical, but it can be said that MacIver appears to be working toward a methodological frame of reference which can be used to lift the sociologist from his present unsatisfactory level of achievement. If the concept of necessity is abandoned and the proposals made by MacIver reinterpreted within a framework of probability logic, we have before us a program which promises much for the future. By the development of a methodology which will allow us to formulate generalizations which on the theoretical level attain a degree of probability on a par with the laws of the physical sciences, we shall be able to raise the empirical probabilities of our predictions to more respectable levels. Such at least is the fundamental message of this book.

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*Society Under Analysis. An Introduction to Sociology.* By Elmer Pendell (editor) and Cooperating Sociologists. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The Jacques Cattell Press, 1942. Pp. 711. \$4.00.

A book of this kind can be reviewed from two points of view. The first concerns the accuracy, the completeness, and the mode of presentation of the material which the authors have chosen to study. The second point of view concerns the validity of including certain material and excluding other material in a textbook which has as a sub-title, "An Introduction to Sociology." One cannot deal definitively with this latter problem because there is no generally accepted definition of the nature and scope of sociology. Nevertheless, if we take as our chief criterion the success with which the authors fulfilled the requirements of science in their analysis of society—and that seems to be their fundamental aim—we have some widely accepted standards by

which to judge the validity of including certain material and excluding other equally important material. On this count, it seems to the present reviewer, the book is in fundamental error. The first sentence of the preface reads: "This book had its inception in the conclusion that the time has come for a closer rapport between the physical sciences and the social sciences." In so far as this means that social science should avoid as many personal biases as possible, should strive for objective and verifiable techniques of measurement (not necessarily "quantitative"), should attempt to discover "uniformities" and probabilities, there are few who would disagree. But at least several of the authors seem to have more than that in mind; they start from the assumption that a science of society is based on the "more fundamental sciences" of physics, chemistry, biology, etc. Thus they accept the Comte-Spencer formulation of a hierarchy of sciences, and spend two hundred pages dealing with physical, chemical, geographic, biological, economic, and psychological "regularities." One of the authors goes so far as to say, "Spencer's position cannot be intelligently disputed." The belief that brief courses in the "more fundamental sciences" must be included in a textbook in sociology is a manifestation of two related errors, reductionism and empiricism, against which such important sociologists as Weber and Durkheim have written so vigorously and effectively. Science is analytic, and once we come to the explicit recognition of that fact we will stop worrying about the apparent failure of any one science of human behavior to explain concrete reality completely.

It might be argued that there is a place now for the synthesis of the many sciences which deal with factors that influence the behavior of human beings. The book under discussion seems to start from that premise. In so far as this synthesis might be directed toward helping the laymen and student (and the researcher himself) to avoid one-factor determinism, we readily agree; in so far as it means synthesis on the research level, we emphatically disagree. Even with reference to the former, it must

be stated that the physicist, chemist, biologist, psychologist, etc., will scarcely be content with two hundred pages written by sociologists in a sociology textbook. Until we can set up a full-fledged and unified course in the sciences which deal with human behavior, the sociologist can avoid many errors by taking the other "regularities" as "givens." Ironically enough, the attempt in this book to bring sociology into perspective by putting it into context with brief surveys of the other sciences—thus to avoid one-factor determinism—has resulted in a number of semi-deterministic statements: "Looked at from our present viewpoint, the sum total of human culture is merely mankind's adaptation to the inherent properties of the physical world" (p. 36). "It appears that all our traits of character as well as our physical appearances can be traced back to these glands" (p. 61)—the ductless glands. "It is difficult to escape the impression that we owe not only our physical existence to the non-human forms of life, but our whole civilization and culture as well" (p. 139). Such statements as these make it seem likely that a reductionist and empiricist bias, and not a carefully worked out attempt to avoid determinism, underlies the first several chapters of this book.

Two-thirds of the book follows a pattern quite similar to other recent Introductions to Sociology. The repetitions and looseness of organization that are often characteristic of symposia are largely avoided, and on the whole the authors handle their topics well. Since we cannot comment on each chapter, we offer these few remarks. The study of personality, which is usually treated at length in sociology texts, is given one thirteen-page chapter. The chapter on "social forces and processes" devotes three pages to competition and conflict. The discussion of "unifying interactions" is more satisfactory, although there is no mention of the concept of accommodation. A chapter on "religion and the churches" is sound from most points of view, but often fails of analytic precision because it speaks of "the church." A study of the roles of religious groups demands a

careful classification into types. One of the most glaring omissions in the book is the failure to make any reference to the concept of class, either in the section dealing with social structure or in the chapter on economic institutions. One is not surprised to discover that Karl Marx is not listed in the index.

Two of the best chapters are those dealing with poverty and crime. Despite their quality, some will question the wisdom of putting them in a textbook in introductory sociology, inasmuch as most schools have general courses in social problems as well as special courses dealing intensively with several of the "social tensions." Genuine sociological insights can come from a study of poverty and crime, however, as these chapters show.

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*War Without Inflation. The Psychological Approach to Problems of War Economy.* By George Katona. New York, Columbia University Press, 1942—X, 213 pp. \$2.50.

This remarkable book presents a modified gestalt approach to an economic problem which lends itself better than any other to psychological treatment. The great emphasis which Keynes placed on the role of anticipations in economic life has revived the economists' interest in a more substantial study of the economically relevant response pattern. This in turn calls for some measure of interdisciplinary coordination. The great potentialities of this approach are well illustrated by the present book. The author, who is at home in economics and psychology, shows how economic behavior is conditioned not by a mere mechanistic reflex of certain stimuli but by a complex of factors which include the past experience of the responding persons, the setting of the stimuli, and the way in which the stimuli are understood. Applied to the inflationary process, this implies that this process is set in motion by a set of factors among which psychological conditions are preeminent and that again other psychological conditions must be present if anti-in-

flationary measures and policies shall succeed. In wartime, a sharp reduction of the output available for civilian consumption is normally accompanied by increasing money incomes. Inflation occurs when people respond to this situation by bidding for consumers goods which are not in existence, thereby bidding up the prices of the existing consumers goods. With the dwindling contents of the market basket becoming more expensive, income receivers tend to press for higher incomes and use the increment for bidding up prices to a still higher level. The inflationary "vicious spiral" is thus the product of a collective misunderstanding of the situation. So far so good. But the collective misunderstanding is no sum of individual errors, since groups whose incomes increase faster than those of other groups are capable of increasing their relative share in the total output although the latter itself may become smaller and smaller.

Severe taxation cannot make the total output larger, but it prevents people from buying it at higher prices than they used to—simply by taking away from them the money which they otherwise would spend in an abortive attempt to buy non-existent goods. However, the effectiveness of severe taxation as an anti-inflationary measure is seriously impaired if it produces a similar pressure for high money incomes as that produced by an increase in prices. In the resulting dilemma governments usually have recourse to a control of incomes, of spending, or to a mixture of both policies. The touchstone of the optimum anti-inflation policy is its effect upon production. An increasing level of prices and unlimited incomes produce an atmosphere favorable to the great expansion of military production, while severe taxation and restrictions on incomes and prices do not encourage additional work and entrepreneurial initiative. This applies with especial force to highly progressive taxes which absorb so large a percentage of earnings for additional work. On the other hand, if the legislator turns to the control of spending, the repercussion upon production will be conditioned by the people's willingness to have

their present effort rewarded, in part, by a share not in present but in future consumption.

In the preceding analysis the limits of the psychological approach to the inflationary process have become distinctly recognizable. According to Katona, inflation can be checked by legislative and administrative action in conjunction with orientation of the public to effect an understanding of how inflation comes about and how it can be arrested (p. 97). However, in a full-fledged war economy mere educational measures do not suffice. The transformation of normal economic incentives, which takes place under a system of rigid controls, does not call for a mere understanding of the relevant phenomena but requires the replacement of the old incentives by a new motivation. In the war economy, economic behavior, to the extent to which normal monetary incentives have faded away, is conditioned by a set of factors among which patriotic impulses and specified rewards (larger rations for additional work, etc.) are outstanding. Education and orientation of the public are of help, but they alone can not take the place of incentives which, at least temporarily, are gone.

H. W. SPIEGEL.

Duquesne University.

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*Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race.* M. F. Ashley Montagu. Foreword by Aldous Huxley. (216 pp., \$2.25. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942.)

Ashley Montagu's volume takes an honorable place in the growing ranks of lay expositions of scientific findings in the field of race. It is unique among these in respect to two novel views first explicitly offered here. The first of these, a genetic criticism of the anthropological concept of race, based upon the work of Dobzhansky, Strandskuv, Haldane, Hogben and others, may encounter some opposition among conservative physical anthropologists, but will certainly appeal to those more attuned to recent developments in the field of human biology. The second, an ardent and loosely reasoned defense of the notion of "heterosis," or hybrid

vigor, will encounter more serious and solid objection.

For the anthropologist, "race" has represented a fundamental and static taxonomic category based upon the distribution of overt morphological characters. To Ashley Montagu, this technique is extremely superficial and rests on the fallacious assumption of fundamental immutable types. The anthropologist, in building up his race structure, is using the end-points of complex genetic processes and treating them as unit-characters. So to do, in his judgment, is to ignore criminally all the work in human genetics directed toward the determination of what these unit-characters are. Instead of viewing race in traditional anthropological terms, Ashley Montagu offers the notion of an "ethnic group" as the momentary concrescence of genetic elements that are universal throughout all human groups. Thus in human history races are constantly forming and reforming.

While his adverse judgment of anthropologists is sound, it would be fair on his part to point out that the view is not alien to the practical work of Boas, Herskovits, and others.

In his disquisitions on hybrid vigor, however, he is extremely disappointing. In his zeal to deny the alleged ill-effects of race mixture, he goes to unwarranted extremes and in the process overthrows much sound genetic doctrine and indeed his own very sensible methodological canons.

After a pellucid demonstration of the lack of relation between physical type and culture, he turns about in this one chapter to rest his argument on the grounds he has just so eloquently refuted. In defense of the notion of "hybrid vigor" he quotes Shapiro's study of the Norfolk and Pitcairn Islanders to the effect that the biological superiority of these latter to their Tahitian and English forebears can be seen in their social organization! (p. 109) The same argument is cited with approval in respect to the Rehobethar Bastards. This is racist argument in reverse.

The traditional criteria for "biological superiority" are notoriously loose and specious, for example, the criterion of

greater fertility of the hybrid. Now, if recent population studies respecting the birth rate have any meaning for us to read it is that, by and large, the actual birth rate would appear to be independent of biological considerations and almost entirely dependent upon social and historical grounds. Would the catastrophic decline of the birth rate in modern times, say in the United States, be taken to indicate a lessening of "biological fitness"? To paraphrase the author's own admirable stricture on the Spanish armada: is it a matter of genes, or is it a matter of social conditions?

No solid case can be argued on such grounds, nor does anti-racism require such support. It is sufficient to state what can be well attested, namely, that hybridization implies no degeneracy of biological type. The determining factor in all crosses (read "marriages"), whether inter or intra-group, is the genetic constitution of the mating individuals.

HERBERT PASSIN.

Office of War Information.

*Taboo: a Sociological Study.* By Hutton Webster. Stanford University Press, 1942. pp. 393. \$4.00.

The barest glance at this excellent compendium serves to reveal the great gap between the theoretical interests of a by-gone day in anthropology and those of modern times. As an exemplar of the older tradition and interest, Professor Webster's volume invites comparison with both past and present. It shares both the virtues and the defects of the Spencer-Frazier tradition. On the one hand, it is encyclopedic in dimensions, felicitous in style, and catholic in the range of human social experience sampled. On the other hand, it suffers gravely from lack of theory and conceptual structure for the systematic organization of the vast multitude of variegated customs assembled here.

In both intent and demonstration Webster must be placed squarely with Frazier and those early students of human culture who sought to comprehend the immense variety of human behavior. Within that body of tradition it may be granted that a



"gap" has been filled by this volume. But with reference to current theoretical problems of the character treated in Radcliffe-Brown's recent study, likewise entitled *Taboo* (a Frazier lecture), it certainly cannot be considered a major contribution. The difference between Webster's *Taboo* and Radcliffe-Brown's *Taboo* is an exact measure of the distance scientific anthropology has traversed in the past 40 years.

The author's stated intention is "to fill the gap in the literature of social anthropology by a comprehensive treatment of taboo as a phenomenon of wide prevalence." (vii) In addition, he wishes "to show . . . how important a place taboo holds in the cultural evolution of mankind." (vii) He succeeds with reference to the first; but it all boils down to the simple fact that what has been defined as "taboo" is not a local Polynesian, but a more widespread phenomenon. While this conclusion may be useful for the layman, it hardly merits the time and attention of the anthropologist, however commendable the demonstration. Also, it may be pointed out that modern sources are eschewed by the author in favor of less reliable, earlier reports, which dwelt heavily on the "exotic" character of primitive society.

The second intention of the volume is not realized. Certainly the implicit assumptions of Spencerian evolutionism and of "primitive" society as fettered and handcuffed by tradition and taboo will hardly be credited by the modern student. Anthropology has had much to say about these hypotheses, but so much could never be inferred from Webster's volume.

There is certainly much of value in the way of ethnographic materials to be found in this genial echo from anthropology's past both for student and layman. But the more discriminating will demand somewhat harder theory.

HERBERT PASSIN.

Office of War Information.

*Youth in the CCC.* By Kenneth Holland and Frank Ernest Hill. Prepared for and published by the American Youth Commission of the American Council

on Education, Washington, D. C., 1942. \$2.25. pp. xv, 262.

Congress abolished the Civilian Conservation Corps in 1942, the year this report was published. But the appraisal is timely. The book is neither an epitaph nor a job of "whitewashing." Behind it lies a five-year study by a staff of over twenty members, sponsored by the American Youth Commission and undertaken with the full cooperation of the United States departments of War, Agriculture, and Labor, together with other agencies jointly responsible for the CCC program.

But there is more behind this book than a five-year study—it is the conviction that the CCC's really most challenging function was neither of the two jobs cut out for it by Congress at the height of the depression. "Time and experience have made increasingly clear the fact that in a large sense the training of young men was not only a necessary and important end of CCC effort, but was perhaps the chief end to be served." (p. 245)

"To build better health and health habits, to show the individual how to live cooperatively with others, to instruct him in the value and importance of carrying out orders, to improve his conduct and moral outlook, to develop his understanding of work and his capacity to work to teach him work skills, and to cultivate in him an understanding of and a capacity to participate in the responsibilities of citizenship—these are the ends to be sought in training." (p. 246)

The authors grant the general efficiency with which the CCC executed its official aims of emergency employment and conservation of natural resources. It was, however, in the training program, gradually adopted as official policy by Corps Administration, that the staff sensed the greatest need of improvement. To promote more adequate training the staff undertook an experimental "work-centered" training program in ten midwestern camps.

Essentially the purpose of the experiment was to test the theory held by the survey staff that more rapid progress in vocational, avocational, and cultural education,

work morale, recreational and character development among camp members would result from the building of the educational program around the daily work of the camps. The fruit of the experiment was frosted in the bud, as the war emergency doomed the entire CCC program.

The CCC has been laid aside. Yet the book is timely, for a period of military demobilization lies, we hope, in the not too far off future. The thoughtful reader cannot fail to see the great potentiality of the CCC camp, perhaps in modified form, as a demilitarizing vestibule for the millions of returning soldiers who may find a sudden transition to civilian community and occupational participation difficult.

What the authors do not discuss but what strikes the reviewer as the most disturbing thought awakened by the book was not the question, why were the emergency employment and the conservation necessary? Nor was it, how well did the CCC handle the job? Rather it was the disturbing question, what factors have produced those immense recurrent crops of American youngsters who need, not just employment, but the very rudiments of work morale, and work skills, ambition, awareness of the necessity of occupational choice and preparation, the elements of cooperation social discipline and democratic citizenship? If this is all part of being underprivileged, our next question is whether the CCC is the answer to the problem of the underprivileged, whether the problem of training which the CCC had to meet was not rather the sign of a need for a drastic revision of our public school system and community youth organizational programs.

The need for the CCC is apparently in direct proportion to the failure of the family, the school, the community, and the economic system. The authors seemed tacitly to accept this connection as axiomatic and the failure of basic American institutions, at least to this extent, as a fact. Their proposal for a bigger and better CCC is thus a remedial rather than a prophylactic approach to America's youth problem.

JOHN B. HOLT.

University of Maryland.

*Marriage and the Family*. Edited by Howard Becker and Reuben Hill. Boston. D. C. Heath, 1942. xxix + 663. \$4.00.

Writers in the field of the family, like the social pathologists before them, are searching for a clothesline upon which to hang a varied array of garments, not so much to give uniformity to the garments as to justify having them all in the same wash. A textbook writer who seeks to combine the features of an "institutional" course in the Family with the even more popular course in Marriage is often hard-pressed in finding a theoretical basis to unite the many different topics needing treatment. In the case of the Becker and Hill symposium the theoretical approach is through the *secularistic trend*, which occurs when a sacred (resistant to change) society at one pole moves toward the secular society, with its disorganizing features, at the other pole. The reverse of this is *sacralization*, a term which is acceptable until one speaks of the "family sacralizing itself" (pages 111, 362, 415, 566), a personification of an institution which tends to cloud over what actually occurs and thus prevent analytical thinking. But even though this attempt at unity of approach may not satisfy everyone it certainly is a step in the right direction, and one that needed to be taken.

The book is exceptional as a symposium in that there is a competent handling of material, with almost no duplication of content. In several places where the writer of some chapter engages in a controversial issue the editors interject a note, to maintain a balance as it were. The seven parts deal with Contexts of Family Life, Preparation for Marriage, Physical Factors, Marriage Interaction and Family Administration, Problems of Parenthood, Family Disorganization, and Prospects for the Future. Some points of interest are the discussion of war and the family; the fallacy of moral relativity in connection with preliterate family patterns; the fact that courtship, like childhood, should be an end in itself and not merely preparation for marriage; the excellent diagrams of reproductive organs, structure of a spermatozoon, and the cycle of ovarian changes.

Each chapter contains a selected bibliography and a list of topics for discussion.

One deficiency of the book is its failure to treat the question of marriage laws, which really deserve more consideration than divorce laws. Marriage laws offer one of the most effective ways of avoiding family disorganization. Another deficiency is the limited treatment given to the American farm family (two pages), whereas seven pages are devoted to the Hindu family, seven pages to the Latin American family, and over three pages to the Negro family. If we are to accept the findings of Burgess and Cottrell to the effect that those reared in a rural rather than an urban area have a greater chance of marital happiness, is it not essential that any book on marriage analyze those phases of rural life which condition this happiness?

Space does not permit the passing out of bouquets to the writers of individual chapters. They all have done a job of a high order, which should make this one of the very popular texts in this expanding field.

IRWIN T. SANDERS.

University of Kentucky.

*Principles of Anthropology.* By Eliot Dismore Chapple and Carleton Stevens Coon, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1942. Pp. iii + 718. \$3.75.

If the word "Sociology" were substituted for the word "Anthropology" in the title of this book it would become a very popular sociology text for those teachers who want their students to think that sociology uses the same methods and principles as the natural sciences. Those sociologists with behavioristic leanings will find many illustrations from both primitive and modern societies with which to bolster their position. The book will not however, satisfy those sociologists who believe that the study of the nervous system, the conditioned reflex, and descriptions of human relations in terms of equilibria are residual categories of little significance in understanding important group behavior. Students who belong to the old school of mechanistic determinism, especially those who think that technologies are prime movers will be

delighted at the book but those interested in specializing on human attitudes and value orientation and those of anti-positivistic tendencies will accuse its authors of "misplaced concreteness." The authors as anthropologists state their position to be that of the functionalist school lead by Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, and Warner, but modified by the "insistence on operational procedures and the use of time as the measure of human relations."

Whether the work is called anthropology or sociology it contains a new system which will be of particular interest to rural sociologists who are perhaps more inclined to participate in practical programs and to deal with that which is measurable. In this system the principal concept is that of the equilibrium. The basic unit is that of the human relationship which is "originated" by one person who may be a leader and "terminated" by another who may be a follower. When more than two persons are involved as in the drilling of a regiment a "set" of relationships is involved. An institution is a system of sets in equilibrium. A ritual is a "symbolic configuration used to restore equilibrium" in a set or sets after a crisis. "Religious institutions arise from the establishment of sets in which one individual originates to others in times of crisis to restore equilibrium." With these and other basic concepts the authors undertake to study human technologies, institutions and symbols. Their analysis of modern industrial and governmental administration puts them out of the class of anthropologists who deal only with primitive society.

None should fail to inspect the ingenious graphic descriptions of social organizations. The six world maps showing ethnographic locations, world environments, technologies, division of labor and trade, institutional complexities of societies and world religions are remarkable.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS.

U.S.D.A.

*Life and Thoughts of a Country Preacher.* C. W. Grafton, D.D., L.L.D. By Allan Cabaniss. With Foreword by William Warren Sweet. Richmond, Va.: John

Knox Press, 1942. Pp. 219. \$2.00.

*Life and Thoughts of a Country Preacher* was written by a Presbyterian minister in tribute to one of the South's outstanding churchmen, Dr. C. W. Grafton, who, for sixty-one years carried the stern message of Calvinism to one small community in rural Mississippi. The book is nothing like many of the recent best-sellers which deal with country preachers, doctors, and lawyers in their daily routine as father confessors, friends, and general problem-solvers for the community. Rather, it is concerned with a single individual, his life and the doctrine of conservative Presbyterianism which he believed in and taught. Some space is given to the early history of the State and of the Presbyterian Church; most of it is devoted to the life of Dr. Grafton, and to his beliefs and teachings.

Rural sociologists will be interested in the position which Dr. Grafton took in regard to social issues and in the implications of such a position. Thus:

"... Only in so far as the issue was clearly only a moral one without any political suggestions and one dealt with in spiritual revelation did Dr. Grafton give public expression to his attitude on it..." (p. 97).

If such a moralistic and doctrinal point of view is common to the rural church of the South (as it indeeds appears to be) then undoubtedly such a point of view is one of the factors associated with the relative lack of social-consciousness which is so often pointed out as being characteristic of the rural South.

JULIEN R. TATUM.

University of Arkansas.

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*Better Rural Careers.* By Paul W. Chapman, Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1942. Pp. 264. \$0.96.

Dean Chapman, in *Better Rural Careers*, has attempted to give rural young people (from the sixth grade up) an idea of the range of jobs open to them. The style is simple and clear, and the wealth of photographic material will add materially to its interest.

The subject matter deals to a limited

extent with the range of opportunities open to youth on the various types of farms in the United States. It deals more fully with the many service fields which are associated with farming, ranging from tobacco marketing to agricultural engineering. Each of the larger divisions of services is dealt with in general terms, and the opportunities, type of work, and qualifications relative to each of the fields is discussed.

Rural sociologists will not, of course, be especially interested in materials which are presented in such elementary form. They should be interested, however, in the fact that people like Dean Chapman are recognizing the necessity of giving rural children some ideas about their occupational possibilities while they are in the elementary grades, and are demonstrating to them definite ways in which their school work can be planned to take advantage of existing opportunities.

JULIEN R. TATUM.

University of Arkansas.

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*Problems of a Changing Social Order.* By John M. Gillette and James M. Reinhardt. Cincinnati, Ohio: American Book Company, 1942. Pp. 819. \$4.00.

This book has been designed for use as a text. Its objectives, as stated by the authors, are to "... improve the abilities of the student to make effective adjustments to changing social conditions, and to bring intelligence to bear upon the problems of social maladjustment."

The companion concepts of adjustment and maladjustment are introduced in the first chapter to assist the reader in identifying social problems. These concepts are not specifically defined and seem, in fact, to be rather loosely used. Part Two of the book, comprising nine chapters, considers problems of adjustment to nature, population, and wealth. Then the continuity is broken. Later, in chapter twenty-two, problems of marital adjustment are considered.

A social problem is defined as a "maladjustment" or a "misadjustment," the normative aspects of which are determined by society. The authors take the position that a social condition does not become a



social problem until the society in which the condition exists defines it as a problem. Slavery is cited as an example; it was "... complacently tolerated by civilization until a sympathetic understanding of human nature and a wide altruism had come into existence."

A considerable part of the first chapter is devoted to a polemic seeking to establish the scientific nature of the "social problems" approach to the study of society as compared with "social pathology," "social disorganization," and "pure sociology." It seems doubtful if such controversies contribute a great deal that is of interest or of value to an undergraduate. Chapter two seeks to establish the importance of the study and solution of social problems to society. Some sociological concepts are presented in this chapter also. Part Three deals with health and mental efficiency; Part Four with race and nativity conditions; Part Five with the family and the child; and Part Six with problems of social control, including public opinion, crime, alcoholism, government and law, and international relations.

Except for the final chapter and the two chapters which constitute the frame of reference, the book deals almost exclusively with social problems existing in the United States. The lists of references at the end of each chapter would be more useful if they had been brought up to date. One wonders, for example, if there have been no notable studies of crime since 1933, or of health protection since 1932, or of poverty and dependency since 1931. The questions at the end of each chapter appear to be well phrased and should be suitable for use in classes conducted on a discussion basis.

WALTER L. SLOCUM.

South Dakota State College.

*Group Differences in Urban Fertility.* By Clyde V. Kiser. Baltimore: Wilkins Company, 1942. pp. ix & 284. \$2.50.

Fertility data on which this analysis is based were collected as a part of the *National Health Survey*. This survey, although primarily intended to yield information on the incidence and severity of

certain diseases in the urban population, obtained both a record of births occurring during the year prior to the enumeration and certain indexes of socioeconomic status. The urban sample included approximately 700,000 families living in 83 cities of 18 states. A much smaller supplementary rural enumeration, using the same schedule forms, was made in selected areas of three states.

The organization and content of this monograph are summed up by the author as follows, "... the plan of this report is, first, to present fertility rates by nativity, color, area, and size of community. Then, these rates are analyzed according to occupational status of the head, educational attainment of the wife, and family income, respectively. Next, a chapter is devoted to available cross-classifications of the data. This is followed by a comparison of the pattern of class differences in marital fertility with that of class differences in general fertility and reproduction rates. The ensuing chapter is devoted to the rural sample and the next is concerned with group differences in ratios of pregnancy wastage. Finally, some attempt is made to bring together the outstanding results of the study and to appraise their implications."

Studies of differential fertility, in the main, have shown an inverse relation between class and marital fertility. However, a few recent studies of the situation both here and abroad have suggested that an exception to this traditional inverse order is emerging at the peak of the socioeconomic pyramid. Kiser's study provides evidence that this change has progressed to a considerable extent among native-white urban married women in this country. No longer do those at the top of the socioeconomic scale exhibit the lowest birth rates. The wives of the professional men are characterized by higher fertility rates than the wives of business men. The importance of this reversal stems not from the higher birth rate of the numerically insignificant professional segment of the sample but from the lower level of fertility of the wives of business men, comprising over one third of the sample.

Particularly of interest to the rural sociologist are the results of the supplementary rural survey in selected localities of Georgia, Missouri, and Michigan, although no claim is made that the data are representative even of the rural population of these three states. In line with accepted notions, rural fertility, considerably higher than urban fertility, was found to increase successively with progression from small town to village to purely rural population.

Although one may prefer more and better data, Kiser's analysis of those provided by the Health Survey is thorough, cautious and systematic. He does an excellent job of showing what has been happening in the field of differential fertility in America since the study of 1910 data by Notestein and Sydenstricker, and that of 1930 data by Notestein. It will remain the most up-to-date comprehensive treatment of the subject until the data collected in the 1940 census from a 5 per cent sample of the population concerning the number of children ever born are thoroughly analyzed.

HOMER L. HITT.

Louisiana State University.

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*Social Work as a Profession.* By Esther Lucile Brown. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1942. Pp. 232. \$1.00.

Social work as an emerging profession developed with dizzying rapidity during the 1930's. The U. S. Census of 1930 recorded 31,241 "social and welfare workers" and in that same category in 1940, over seventy-two thousand were reported. Miss Brown, after tracing the evolution of social work from the humanitarianism of the wealthy classes for the lower classes to the federally supported and supervised system of public assistance of today, raises the question, "Is social work a profession?" The answer to that question constitutes the major thesis of this interesting monograph.

The sociologist will particularly want to peruse the convenient compilation of information on the schools of social work, their curricula and requirements. To the rural sociologist, the discussion of rural social work is most pertinent. He will be concerned that despite the dynamic and

growing interest and programs for assisting rural people, scarcely more than one-third of the forty-two approved schools of social work make any provision for courses in rural social work or in rural social and economic conditions. The schools in state universities, surprisingly enough, do no better than those in private institutions.

There is as yet no satisfactory answer to the belief that differences between rural and urban social work practice result largely from differences of culture patterns and that, therefore, skills and knowledge basic to one type of practice are basic to the others. The rural sociologist would probably agree with Miss Brown when she says:

"... that what the social worker needs most as background for practice in rural areas is an intimate knowledge of those sociological and psychological ways of thinking and behaving that manifest themselves in non-urban places; of the educational and community resources that both reflect and determine standards of living and cultural levels; of economic forces which have produced the sharecropper, tenant farmer, and migrant, and also large-scale mechanized farming and the Associated Farmers."

To professional people, to vocational counselors, to the laity, this small volume assembles and interprets significant data on one of the fastest growing yet least understood vocations of the present day.

JOHN J. CRONIN.

University of Louisville.

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*Guide for the Study of American Social Problems.* Compiled for the American Social Problems Study Committee. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. 181. \$1.00.

This book is designed as a study guide for individuals or groups interested in getting at the basic facts for an intelligent understanding of American social problems. It was sponsored by a committee of prominent educators, labor leaders, scientists, religious leaders, welfare workers, and others, under the chairmanship of Dr. Harry J. Carman of Columbia University,

and the vice-chairmanship of Dr. Margaret Mead of the American Museum of Natural History.

Eleven chapters are devoted to the problems of the consumer, the worker, the farmer, women, the Negro, youth, education, housing, civil liberties, national unity, and international security. Each of these chapters includes a brief introductory statement by an authority in the field, a statement of the central problem, and a bibliography including periodicals, magazine articles, books, government publications, and films. For example, the chapter on the farmer outlines references covering answers to questions such as: Why are farmers poor? What are their standards of living as compared to city dwellers? How does the poverty of the farmer affect the living standards of everybody in the nation? What are some of the problems of the farmer that you should know about in order to understand his situation? What is the relationship between you—the consumer—and the farmer? What is the farmer doing to solve his own problem? What have the farmers won from the government? How has the government helped to save human and soil resources through its program?

The guide will be especially useful for women's clubs, church, and civic groups, as well as high school and college students, in "aiding them to understand the insistent problems which press from every side and whose solution is necessary if human beings are to live in peace and security." Toward this end, "the choice of references was largely conditioned by three factors: first, their authenticity for providing historical background or current setting of the problem; second, their suitability for nontechnical use; and last, their cost." Because of this last factor, a wide use is made of free material in pamphlets and magazines.

In conclusion, the Committee suggests a plan whereby interested persons in neighborhoods and more self-contained communities can go about setting up Community Councils for the purpose of achieving a better and fuller democratic way of life.

HENRY G. STETLER.

University of Connecticut.

*The Subnormal Adolescent Girl.* By Theodora M. Abel and Elaine F. Kinder. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. xiii + 215. \$2.50.

*Concerning Juvenile Delinquency: Progressive Changes in Our Perspectives.* By Henry W. Thurston. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. x + 236. \$2.75.

Abel and Kinder's book is an illuminating and readable study, well illustrated and based on observed case material. It considers the special problems presented by subnormal adolescent girls in various fields of activity. Of these, two examples may serve to illustrate the practical value of such an investigation.

In war industry, women today are taking an increasing part. It is estimated that by the end of 1942, about 4.5 million women will be directly engaged in war production. Among the unskilled and semi-skilled workers, many will be in the category which these authors have studied; adolescent girls whose I. Q. falls between 50 and 89. The book, therefore, has a special interest for three occupational groups in industry: Employment managers, personnel men and production supervisors.

Of particular interest to the employment manager is the discussion of a follow-up study of 84 subnormal, non-delinquent girls. They were employed for three years in a New York industrial area, having started work at 17. All girls received special guidance by placement counselors and social workers who investigated suitable work opportunities and smoothed out difficulties in employer and family relationships. In spite of all this help, during the first year of employment, 35 per cent were considered failures in that they were unable to hold any job for more than two weeks without being discharged. At the end of the third year, 20 per cent of the girls still showed themselves unfit for employment.

Supervisors of Industrial Relations should be interested to learn that many of the subnormal girls, to hide their feelings of insecurity, "complained frequently and indiscriminately" about their employers and work conditions.

Production supervisors can derive great benefit from this penetrating analysis of the subnormal adolescent girl. Lack of mental and manual versatility and a tendency to persevere in any behavior tendency once adopted, create special problems in work assignment and discipline.

The authors show that properly understood and skillfully handled, the subnormal adolescent girl can be an asset to industry.

In the social life of a community, the subnormal adolescent girl frequently figures as a trouble-maker and sex delinquent. War conditions aggravate problems of adjustment in family life and school, as well as leisure time activities and recreation. Parents, teachers, social workers, police women and probation officers will find this study of great interest.

Thurston's book is a general supplement in the field of juvenile delinquency. It is a popular presentation of the subject but lacks the scientific precision of Abel and Kinder's study. For example, the technique of presentation in the chapter, "A Forum Discussion on Causes," is clever but misleading.

Leonard W. Mayo, Dean of Applied Social Sciences at Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, contributes a short but incisive chapter on principles which point up the community aspects of juvenile delinquency.

PAUL PIGORS.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

*Contraception and Fertility in the Southern Appalachians.* By Gilbert Wheeler Beebe. Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Company, 1942. Pp. xii + 274. \$2.50.

The mores of privacy complicate problems of sampling and of getting accurate data in social studies of human reproduction. These difficulties are not resolved in this book, but they are attacked with statistical skill. The basic data are records of contraceptive service to more than 1,300 rural nonfarm women, aged 15-44, in the coal mining communities of Logan County, West Virginia, 1936-1938. The service and the study were sponsored by the National

Committee on Maternal Health, supporting an "interest in the control of excessive population growth and in the utility of simple contraceptive methods." (p. 53). In this report, a brief social and economic description of the Southern Appalachian Region is followed by a report of the establishment of the contraceptive service, then a detailed description of reproductive patterns in the area, then a review of the effects of contraceptive instruction upon fertility, and finally, a statement about the organization of contraceptive services. An important conclusion is "that the uncontrolled chance of conception in the Southern Appalachians is probably no higher than elsewhere, and that only lack of contraceptive endeavor could possibly explain the high fertility for which the region is noted." (p. 84). Thirty-two per cent of the women, controlling over 50 per cent of the fertility in the county, accepted instruction. Of the white women in this group, half had previously attempted contraception. It is concluded that, "Family limitation has gained a real foothold in the Southern Appalachians, but it has not yet made any great headway." (p. 122). The author's claims are not extreme, but he may be asked whether the general social disorganization of mining camps, in contrast to the relatively more stable familism of agriculturists in the Appalachian hills, may not tend to exaggerate the weakening of mores opposing family limitation in the entire region. Following contraceptive instruction for the women in this Logan County sample, the birth rate fell 41 per cent, indicating the partial effectiveness of imperfect birth control. The study "by no means proceeds from the assumption that family limitation alone would enable the region to achieve economic and social parity with the nation as a whole." (p. 36). The proposal for organization is that contraceptive service be medical, but not only therapeutic, and that there be a gradual development toward its inclusion with other public health services. The book has a good index, a bibliography of 151 titles, and an appendix discussion of research methodology.

HOWARD W. BEERS.

University of Kentucky.



*A Prophet and a Pilgrim.* By Herbert W. Schneider and George Lawton: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. xviii + 589. \$5.00.

This book describes one of the more obscure of the many religio-economic movements of the nineteenth century. Indeed, it will no doubt prove a surprising revelation, even to those students who have delved most deeply into the history of "The Fabulous Forties," including the land settlement experiments. Brook Farm, the Oneida Community, the Shakers, the Fourierite and Owenite communities are well known; but few will know of Wassaic, Amenia and Brocton, New York or Fountain Grove, California—all places successively occupied by the Brotherhood of the New Life. Thomas Lake Harris (1823-1906) the Prophet and leader of this fantastic cult, is also an unfamiliar name to contemporary Americans in spite of his rather voluminous writings. The Pilgrim, and proselyte of Harris, Laurence Oliphant (1829-1888) of England, is a more familiar name. A famous writer, diplomat, politician, and world traveler, he gave up a seat in the House of Commons and with his mother, Lady Oliphant, joined the Harris farm community at Amenia, Dutchess County, New York. The two provided a large part of the capital which went into the new community at Brocton, near Buffalo, when the colony moved from its former location.

This is a biography of two remarkable individuals of widely different social backgrounds and experiences, whose lives were fortuitously brought together through a common interest in a mystical formula for regeneration of mankind. Both were motivated by nineteenth century humanitarianism, and the prevalent spiritual unrest with its concomitant millennial hope. Like the founders of Brook Farm, the "Brotherhood" sought spiritual purification in manual labor, which led to the establishment of an agricultural community. Like Oneida, Zoar, the Shakers, and the Mormons, their philosophical formulations were mixed with unconventional relations of the sexes.

The book is also something of a biography of a social movement or contains

much raw material out of which one can be constructed. Through its pages, the "Brotherhood" can be traced through the phases of a life cycle, from the prophetic visions of Harris, through the development of a community of believers under the strict authoritarian control of the prophet, the inevitable dissensions and apostasies, conflict with the outside world, rivalries for leadership, and final decadence.

The authors adhere to strict narration, and make no attempt at correlating the rise of this movement with comparable contemporary developments. This is, of course, justifiable procedure particularly in view of the mass of material to be handled; but one cannot avoid hoping that the authors or other students, might produce another volume dealing particularly with social origins.

LOWRY NELSON.

University of Minnesota.

*Community Life in a Democracy.* Edited by Florence C. Bingham. Chicago, Illinois: National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 1942. Pp. 246. \$1.00.

Addressed to the PTA, this volume seeks to develop for members of that group a community consciousness and a realization of their responsibility and, indeed, opportunity to use the community as a focal point for a well directed and socially inclusive PTA program at the local level. This book is written by a group of prominent professional experts, each specialized in the particular approach to community organization that he makes. It describes and interprets for the layman the various aspects of the community scene and the part that he can play, particularly as a member of the PTA, in making his community a more socially satisfactory and stimulating place where youth can develop into adults capable of taking their places in a dynamic and democratic society.

For members of the PTA and for other organizations made up of laymen who are sincerely interested in the welfare of their community and their children, this book will open up a clearer vista of the many problems of community welfare lying with-

in the scope of their activities and interests. It will challenge and inspire them to belated activities. Certainly it is a contribution in that it places before the people themselves—i.e. the layman American citizenry—in a readable and comprehensive way an awareness of the concept of the American community as such, and the contribution harmonized community organization can make to the welfare and happiness of the members of that community.

Such an approach is heartening to the sociologist. If the average American citizen can be made aware of his community, the problems that must be faced in adequate community organization, and the part he can play in solving such problems, a forward step of significance has been taken in obtaining through the democratic process the beginning of a fuller and more comprehensive American way of life for more and more of its citizens.

DOUGLAS ENSMINGER.

U. S. Department of Agriculture.

*Grass Roots Politics: National Voting Behavior of Typical States.* By Harold F. Gosnell. Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942. Pp. ix + 195. \$3.00.

First, this book surveys election returns in the United States since 1896. While shifts in the nation result from changes in business conditions, in the international situation and in party organization, political tides in the states "come and go with changes in political personalities, in issues which affect the economy of the states directly, and in social issues which have peculiar importance to the culture of the communities concerned." Comparison of the states with national trends differentiates those which parallel national trends, those which swing with the nation but more violently, those which swing with the nation but less violently, and those which show no relation to national trends.

Next, an examination is made of the election returns by counties in six typical states, viz., Pennsylvania, which emphasizes industrial politics, Wisconsin with its progressivism, Iowa of the farm belt, Cali-

fornia with its utopias, Illinois with its rural-urban conflicts, and Long's Louisiana. Economic indices are related to shifts in the vote of each county or region of the six states. The influence of urbanization, social, ethnic and religious characteristics and party tradition and discipline upon the vote is analyzed.

In an appendix to the study the author asserts the value of statistical methods which have been viewed critically by many political scientists. Here it is pointed out that the "refined statistical techniques" employed in this study such as zero order correlations, simple regression equations, partial correlations, net regression equations, and factorial analysis using the centroid method are not only labor- and time-saving devices, but they also "give some very fruitful results if significant hypotheses and relevant indexes can be devised." A second appendix contains tables showing election returns since 1924 for the six states, certain selected social and economic variables, and a matrix of correlations with voting behavior.

WILLIAM H. COMBS.

Michigan State College.

*Community Organization and Adult Education—A Five-Year Experiment.* By Edmund deS. Brunner. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942. Pp. 124. \$2.00.

Sociologists have heard much during recent years about the Greenville experiment in community organization. Fortunately, this experiment was carefully observed by competent sociologists and we have in Dr. Brunner's new book an objective analysis of the manner in which the Greenville County Council for community development came into being, and gave leadership in assisting the people to study their problems and to develop plans for their solution.

This experiment in community development is significant in that it brings to sociological literature much needed factual material on community organization from the South. It is further significant in that it blazes new trails in the field of adult

education, pointing out what can be done by properly developed plans which are based upon sound sociological principles.

The Greenville experiment is convincing proof of the fact that community organization doesn't just happen. To organize communities is hard work, work which requires skill and untiring leadership. The sociologists talk a lot about the importance of community organization as a means of solving local problems. The fact remains, however, that community organization carried to the perfection of effective community councils is yet to be developed. This little book of Dr. Brunner's is proof of the fact that much good can come through the development of community councils. It should, however, impress the uninitiated with the understanding that community organization is not something that can be blueprinted and superimposed from without. Organization is a process and must be developed from within, where the people work and live.

Dr. Brunner skillfully points out both successes and failures of this Greenville experiment. His real contribution comes from pointing out the sociological principles associated with these successes and failures.

DOUGLAS ENSMINGER.

U. S. Department of Agriculture.

*The Kentucky Poor Law 1792-1936.* By Emil McKee Sunley. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. 160. \$1.50.

This is the first poor law study in a series of nine, to deal with a southern state; others have dealt with the midwestern tier of states, and Rhode Island, Montana and Kansas. As the oldest form of social security, the poor law, still based on the Elizabethan principles of the 17th century, persists as the last public resort for people in distress. Sunley points out that during the economic depression of the 1930's the old poor relief system of Kentucky collapsed and both children and adults were starving. Relief came through the Red Cross, the Friends Service and finally the federal government. As late as

1924, the poor in parts of Kentucky were still being "hired out" to the highest bidder; as late as 1935, it was impossible to learn the extent or amount of poor relief. No books were kept. The student of social problems should read how Kentucky, not unlike practically every other state, is trying to meet modern agricultural and industrial social conditions with a system of poor relief which was dated even in colonial times.

JOHN J. CRONIN.

University of Louisville.

*Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work 1942.* Columbia University Press. New York. \$5.00.

This volume contains fifty-one papers, carefully selected from the 122 presented at the New Orleans meetings of the National Conference of Social Work. Discussion of the problems of rural areas as such is limited to case material concerning a rural county in the deep South presented as part of the paper on "Human Needs Pertinent to Group Work Services"; and two papers dealing with child welfare: "Developing Community Interest in Foster Homes" and "Problems of Adoption in Rural Areas."

*Disorganization Personal and Social.* By Ernest R. Mowrer. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1942. Pp. viii + 682. \$3.75.

The older approaches to social disorganization, according to Professor Mowrer, involve too many value-judgments, or give insufficient attention to social processes, or fail to show at what point and how and for what reason the changes that constitute social disorganization get under way. Mowrer himself finds the genesis of both social and personal disorganization in the variant behavior of individuals. This is traced to differential experience in family and social class and vocational group, or to contact with alien cultures. It is when this variant behavior meets with social disapproval that disorganization comes. If the individual seeks sympathizers and organizes for conflict with the social order

marked disorganization, both social and personal, results. If he retreats into a subjective world, he does not disturb the social system but sacrifices his human nature. In any case his adjustment is largely a function of the basic personality pattern which in turn is traced to early experience in the family.

Mowrer's interest seems to be in personal more than in social disorganization, and he discusses a number of types. His treatment is always illuminating, always discriminating. When he studies social disorganization, he deals mostly with statistical data drawn from the Chicago area between 1929 and 1935. A vast deal of material has been compiled and interpreted with consummate skill. It is apparent that the author has lived with his data and knows fully their meaning and their limitations. Yet one could wish to have the abstractions of central tendency and correlation supplemented by the kind of dramatic treatment of the changing patterns which Linton gives of the disintegration of the dry rice culture among the Tanala. Mowrer does a good deal of this in his treatment of the family.

This volume is brought out as a textbook. But it seems unlikely that students will make use of the appendix of 85 pages in which data already presented in a

plethora of charts are displayed in tabular form. The cross-hatched map, much used in presenting the Chicago data, reveals certain limitations in the mechanics of construction. The shading in the maps is not consistently graduated from light to dark, solid black areas commonly representing less than the maximum concentration of cases. Where it is expected that a succession of maps will relate trends to different phases of the economic cycle, it is unfortunate that the hatching scheme should vary from map to map. This makes comparisons difficult.

It may be doubted whether Mowrer's frame of reference achieves the objectivity he seeks. Whether one sees disorganization depends in some measure upon the point and breadth of view. Mowrer speaks of social disapproval bringing disorganization. Whose disapproval is this? One may be organized by the approval of a well-knit ingroup and be to some degree impervious to the disapprovals of the larger society defined as an out-group. Delinquency may be explained, in many cases at least, in terms of the delinquent culture that has fashioned it without any reference to the pattern of the delinquent's early family relations.

THOMAS HANCOCK GRAFTON.  
Mary Baldwin College.



## NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

*Edited by Robert A. Polson*

### ADVISORY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS:

This Council was established by the American Association for the Advancement of Science to advise conservation agencies on problems of human relations. The most intensive work of the Council has been with the U. S. Forest Service. At the national level the Council has deliberated on many of the most important public relations problems of the Forest Service and also on problems of personnel and morale within the Service. The Council has promoted a few useful spot studies of the sociological and psychological factors in man-caused forest fires and has offered numerous suggestions calculated to improve the procedures of the Forest Service when dealing with people.

Considerable effort has been expended upon plans for the development of research in the human relations aspects of forestry, and to this end an attempt has been made to interest the social scientists located in those parts of the country where such problems are acute, in cooperating with the Forest Service on the study of these problems. A preliminary conference for this purpose was held in Asheville, N. C. during the spring of 1941 and more recently (January 1943) similar conferences have been held on the Pacific coast.

The Pacific coast conferences were held at Portland, Oregon, Berkeley, California, and Los Angeles, California. Each lasted two days and all were under the sponsorship of the Advisory Council with the U. S. Forest Service cooperating. The personnel of the conferences consisted of 25-30 invited persons about half of whom were social scientists (sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists). Forest Service officials presented their problems for discussion by the scientists. Local conditions were stressed. The social scientists showed much interest, and plans are now under way to organize regional advisory groups which will serve as local counterparts of the national Advisory

Council. Such an arrangement should in time result in the production of valuable research in the field of the human factor in conservation.

C. E. LIVELY, *Secretary*  
Advisory Council on  
Human Relations.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY: Harold E. Smith, former assistant in the Department, who for several months was mathematical instructor at Scott Field, Bellville, Illinois, has enlisted for training in the weather school of the Army Air Corps. He is stationed at the Pantlind Hotel, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Lieutenant James E. White, a former assistant, has recently been awarded the Purple Heart Medal by the War Department for meritorious service as an officer in a machine gun platoon in the Pacific theatre. He was wounded in action but recent reports indicate he is well on the road to recovery.

Dr. William M. Smith, Jr., resigned his position as Extension Instructor April 1st to enter farming near Norwalk, Ohio.

DEPAUW UNIVERSITY: Francis M. Vreeland, Professor of Sociology at DePauw University, died February 6, 1943.

DIVISION OF FARM POPULATION AND RURAL WELFARE: C. R. Draper, Assistant Social Scientist of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, Upper Darby staff, reported to Lewisburg, Pa., April 2 with the CAA. Henry W. Riecken of the same office entered the Army March 22 and is at Jefferson Barracks, Mo.

S. Earl Grigsby, Associate Social Science Analyst of the Atlanta staff is a Naval Ensign at Ft. Schuyler, N. Y., and Robert E. Galloway, formerly Area Leader in Atlanta, is on active Navy duty as a Lieutenant (j.g.).

**OKLAHOMA AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE:** Robert Turner McMillan (B.S., M.S., Oklahoma A & M College), Associate Professor of Sociology and Rural Life, received the Ph.D. degree from Louisiana State University in June 1943. The title of his thesis, which was completed last summer, is "The Interrelation of Migration and Socioeconomic Status of Open Country Families in Oklahoma."

William Lester Kolb (A.B., Miami, M.A., Wisconsin), Assistant Professor of Sociology, received the Ph.D. degree from the University of Wisconsin at the end of May 1943. The title of his thesis, which was completed in April, is "The Peasant in Revolution: A Study in Constructive Typology."

John C. Belcher, B.S., Oklahoma A & M College, 1943, has been appointed graduate assistant in Rural Sociology at Louisiana State University, effective July 1, 1943.

**PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE:** Professor W. R. Gordon of Rhode Island State College resigned his position as rural sociologist at that institution and is now Extension Rural Sociologist at Pennsylvania State College, a position he previously held for several years.

Dr. W. R. Kerns, formerly of Pennsylvania State College, is now a Lieutenant in the United States Marine Corps.

**SOUTH DAKOTA STATE COLLEGE:** Walter L. Slocum recently resigned his position to join the Farm Security Administration as Assistant Chief, Farm Labor Training and Placement Section at the Lincoln, Nebraska regional office.

**UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA:** Dr. E. W. Burgess, Past President and Secretary of the American Sociological Society, Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago, was a visitor in Tucson during the winter quarter. He was guest of honor at a dinner meeting of the University of Arizona Social Science Club February 25 and spoke on his studies of predicting the success of marriage. Dr Burgess is working on his book on *The Family*.

Dr. E. D. Tetreau, Professor of Rural Sociology, University of Arizona, has an article in the March issue of the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* entitled, "Population Characteristics and Trends in Arizona." This article is an abbreviated version of the paper read at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Dallas, December, 1941. In November, 1942, the Arizona Agricultural Experiment Station published Bulletin 186 under title "Wanted—Manpower on Arizona Farms." Preliminary analyses for higher farm labor requirements in 1943 were released in January in Mimeographed Report No. 52. The analysis of Arizona rural society continues.

**VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE:** A recent rural sociology report of the Agricultural Experiment Station pertains to the "Nutrition of Virginia People as Indicated by the Diets of School Children." It was made in cooperation with the State Nutrition Committee and the WPA.

**UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS CITY:** Clarence Senior, formerly Director of the Inter-American Institute, University of Kansas City, has been appointed Chief of the Latin American Division, Office of Exports, Board of Economic Warfare, in Washington.

*An Analysis of Specified Farm Characteristics for Farms Classified by Total Value of Products* has just been completed as a cooperative study by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics representing the United States Department of Agriculture and the Bureau of the Census. The tabulations were based upon a 2-per cent sample from the 1940 Census of Agriculture expanded and adjusted to agree with the recorded census totals. They are intended to help answer questions concerning the resources of farms at different levels of gross farm income and the characteristics of the operators of farms in the various value groups which influence their potential agricultural production; to show the extent to which farms in the different value groups are operated by full-time or part-time farm-

ers; to indicate the amount and kind of work done off the farm in 1939; to help uncover sources of unused and underused manpower; and to provide useful data on farm labor requirements and farm expenditures. Many of the data will be helpful in analyzing the problems associated with social-security programs for farmers.

The following reports have been published: (1) Age of Operator, Work Off Farms and Days Worked, Operators Reporting Residence not on Farms Operated, 1940; (2) Workstocks and Other Livestock, Specified Farm Machinery and Facilities, Business with or Through Cooperatives; (3) Land Resources and Size of Farm; (4) Appalachian Region, which will include data relating to the 5 Appalachian States, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee; (5) Specified Farm Expenditures; (6) Family and Hired Labor on Farms, September 24-30, 1939 and March 24-30, 1940; (7) Farms Classified by Major Sources of Income; (8) Color and Tenure of Farm Operators.

A limited number of copies are available from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

ROY L. ROBERTS.

Division of Farm Populations and Rural Welfare, BAE, USDA.

FARM LABOR FOR YOUTH is a packet of pamphlets prepared for the guidance of youth—particularly town and city youth—who may be interested in not only rendering a useful service but also in gaining experience in agriculture and rural life.

The packet contains nine pamphlets and papers and sells for 25 cents each, but only 20 cents each in quantities of 20 or more. Orders may be addressed to: Town and Country Department, Congregational Christian Churches, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

### FORTHCOMING ARTICLES

*A Comparison of Three Measures of Socio-economic Status.* By George A. Lundberg and Pearl A. Friedman.

*Rural-Panama: Its Needs and Prospects.* By Ofelia Hooper.

*The Kolkhozes in the Economy of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.* By Germina Rabinowitch.

*Some Problems of Status and Social Solidarity in Riverbottoms Area.* By John W. Bennett.

*Social Participation Differences Among Tenure Classes in a Prosperous Commercialized Farming Area.* By C. Arnold Anderson.

*Wartime Changes in Employer-Employee Relations in Agriculture.* By Edgar C. McVoy.

# AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

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*Secretary-Treasurer:* ASHER HOBSON  
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